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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

Vol. XXXI, No. 797

October 4, 1954



**PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE • Address by Secretary Dulles . 471**

**CORRESPONDENCE WITH SOVIET UNION ON  
ATOMIC POOL PROPOSAL . . . . . 478**

**ADMINISTRATION OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE  
DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE ACT . . . . . 498**

**RETURN OF HISTORIC OBJECTS TO COUNTRIES  
OF ORIGIN • Article by Ardelia R. Hall . . . . . 493**

*For index see inside back cover*



# *The Department of State* bulletin

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98

## Partnership for Peace

*Address by Secretary Dulles<sup>1</sup>*

I come to this opening of the Ninth General Assembly with a deep sense of the significance of this occasion. This annual gathering of the representatives of 60 nations represents mankind's most hopeful effort to achieve peace with justice. Here is made manifest the close interdependence of today's world and, also, the vast opportunity for constructive results which lie in good partnership efforts.

The people of the United States believe wholeheartedly in the purposes and the principles set out in the charter of the United Nations. That document marks a milestone in the understanding of the nature of peace. It recognizes that peace is not a passive concept but a call to action. It is not enough to dislike war and to denounce it. War has been hated throughout the ages. Yet war has been recurrent throughout the ages. One reason is that men have never put into the winning of peace efforts comparable to those which they put into the winning of a war.

Mankind will never have lasting peace so long as men reserve their full resources for tasks of war. To preserve peace and to do so without the sacrifice of essential freedoms require constant effort, sustained courage, and at times a willingness to accept grave risks. That is the true spirit of peace.

During the past year many nations have actively worked together on behalf of a just and durable peace. There have been moments when, it seemed, the scales between general war and peace were precariously balanced. That hazardous equation still exists. But at least we see the

hazard and strive to shift the balance in favor of peace.

The efforts of the past year are not to be appraised merely by whether they in fact produced concrete settlements. The making of intelligent, resolute, and united efforts for just settlements has itself contributed to peace. It shows a dynamic spirit and a vigilance which are a warning to any potential aggressor. In the past, peace has often been lost by default. That, let us resolve, shall not happen again.

I cannot, of course, now touch on all of the manifold activities which have recently occurred within and without this organization. I shall focus mainly on political efforts with which my own country was associated as an active partner. Let me first speak of the Organization of American States. The inter-American system rests on a long tradition of cooperation for freedom and peace in this hemisphere. Faithfulness to that tradition, and pride in it, have served to spare this hemisphere from such wars as have tragically ravaged Europe and Asia during the last century and more. Last March the Caracas Conference of the American States decided and declared that if international communism gained control of the political institutions of any American State, that would be a danger to the peace and security of them all and call for collective action to remove the threat.

However aggressive communism may be judged elsewhere, we of this hemisphere, with no exception, know that its intrusion here would open grave conflicts, the like of which we have not known before.

In Guatemala there developed an identifiable threat to the peace and security of this hemisphere.

<sup>1</sup> Made before the U. N. General Assembly on Sept. 23 (press release 525).



The American States exchanged views about this danger and were about to meet to deal with it collectively when the Guatemalan people themselves eliminated the threat.

In this connection, there was occasion for the United Nations to apply the principles of our charter which, while affirming the universal jurisdiction of this organization, call for the use of regional arrangements before resort to the Security Council (articles 33 and 52). These provisions had been hammered out in the course of debate at San Francisco, when our charter was adopted. The American States at that time urged that their tested relationship should be coordinated with, and not totally replaced by, the United Nations, which they felt might prove undependable because of veto power in the Security Council. So it was decided to make regional association a major feature of the United Nations peace system.

This year the Organization of American States showed anew that it is ready, able, and willing to maintain regional peace. Thereby, the provisions of the United Nations Charter have been vindicated and the foundation for peace in the American Hemisphere has been solidified.

#### Germany and Austria

Last year I said here that "the division of Germany cannot be perpetuated without grave risks."<sup>2</sup> In an effort to eliminate that risk, I went to Berlin last January to confer with the Foreign Ministers of the other three occupying powers. We there joined with Britain and France in presenting a proposal for the unification of Germany through free elections, to be supervised by the United Nations or some comparable impartial body. The Soviet Union countered with proposals which added up to an extension of the Soviet orbit to the Rhine. Accordingly, the dangerous division of Germany still persists. But, I may add, something else persists—that is our resolve, in the spirit of peace, to end the cruel injustice being done to Germany.

Last year I also spoke of an Austrian treaty as being long overdue. I pointed out that as between the occupying powers there was "no substantial item of disagreement." At the Berlin Conference the three Western occupying powers eliminated

the last vestige of disagreement by accepting the Soviet version of every disagreed article. It seemed, for a fleeting moment, that the Austrian treaty might be signed. But then the Soviet Union improvised a new condition. It said that it would not free Austria from Soviet occupation until a German peace treaty was concluded.

There cannot be a German peace treaty until Germany is united. So Austria continues to be an indefinitely occupied nation. Nevertheless here again, we do not accept as final the denial of justice to unhappy Austria—the first victim of Hitlerite aggression and the object of the 1945 Moscow pledge of freedom and independence. The three Western Powers, constant in the spirit of peace, have again within recent days urged that the Soviet Union sign the Austrian state treaty as a deed which, far more than platitudinous words, will show whether other matters can fruitfully be discussed.

#### European Unity

The problem of peace in Europe has become more complicated because of the recent setback to the consummation of the European Defense Community. That concept came from recognition that the best guarantee of permanent peace in Europe was an organic unity which would include France and Germany. Also, if this unity merged the military forces of these two and other European countries, that would assure their nonaggressive character. Such forces would clearly be unavailable except as the whole community recognized the need for defensive action.

The votes of Communist deputies more than accounted for the parliamentary majority which in one country shelved the EDC. Thus, they acted to perpetuate European divisions which have recurrently bred wars. However, the free nations concerned do not accept with resignation the perpetuation of what, historically, has been the world's worst fire hazard. They are alert to the peril and are working actively to surmount it.

#### Korea

Last year when I spoke here about Korea, I was able to report an armistice. That, I said, was not because the Communist aggressors loved peace, but because they had come up against an effective military barrier. I went on to say, "The Korean political conference, if the Communists come to it,

<sup>2</sup> For text of Secretary Dulles' address before the Eighth General Assembly, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1953, p. 403.



will afford a better test." It took 7 months of arduous negotiation to bring about the political conference. When it occurred at Geneva, the United Nations side proposed the unification of Korea on the basis of free all-Korean elections to be supervised by the United Nations. This proposal was rejected by the Communist side. They insisted that the United Nations must itself be treated as an instrument of aggression and be debarred from any further activity in Korea.

This counterproposal, insulting to the United Nations, was unanimously rejected by those who proudly hailed the Korean action of the United Nations as the first example in all history of an international organization which had in fact acted effectively against armed aggression.

The United States does not believe that the unification of Korea must await another war. We have exerted all the influence we possess in favor of a peaceful solution of the Korean problem, and we have not lost faith that this solution is possible.

#### Southeast Asia

At the Geneva Conference the belligerents in Indochina also dealt with the problem of peace. An 8-year conflict of mounting intensity was brought to a close. We can all rejoice that there has been an end to the killing. On the other hand, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that several hundred thousand in North Viet-Nam have at their desire been transferred to non-Communist areas, and that there still remain millions unwillingly subject to an alien despotism. In this case, an end to fighting has been bought at a heavy price, and the final result is still obscure.

One result, however, has been the driving home to the nations interested in Southeast Asia of the importance of a collective organization for defense against further aggression. At Manila this month eight nations met and negotiated and signed a treaty calling for collective defense against aggression.

The Manila Pact constitutes significant action taken under the charter of the United Nations, which recognizes the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense. Those who cry out when others exercise their inherent right of self-defense only expose their own aggressive purposes.

The Manila Conference did much more than extend the area of collective security. It adopted the Pacific Charter. Thereby, the eight nations—

Asian and non-Asian—which met at Manila proclaimed in ringing terms the principles of self-determination, self-government, and independence. This charter, and the spirit of fellowship which gave it birth, should serve once and for all to end the myth that there is inherent incompatibility between East and West. The peoples of Asia who are already free, or who seek freedom, need not remain weak, divided, and unsupported in the face of the new imperialism which has already reduced to colonial servitude 800,000,000 people, of what were once 15 truly independent nations.

#### Atomic Energy

The past year has been marked by intensive efforts in the field of atomic energy. The United States has sought to share its commanding position in this field in ways that would permit many to join in a great new adventure in human welfare. We hoped to turn atomic energy from being an instrument of death into a source of the enrichment of life.

I vividly recall December 8, 1953, when we here heard President Eisenhower propose that the nations possessing atomic material would cooperate under the auspices of the United Nations to create a world atomic bank into which they would each contribute fissionable material which would then be used for the purpose of productivity rather than destruction.<sup>3</sup> I shared the drama of that moment and sensed the universal applause which then greeted that proposal—applause which echoed around the world.

Because it seems that oftentimes negotiations publicly conducted with the Soviet Union tend to become propaganda contests, President Eisenhower proposed that these new negotiations should be privately conducted. The United States, after consultation with others, then submitted a concrete, detailed proposal to carry out President Eisenhower's great conception. I myself met several times with the Soviet Foreign Minister at Berlin and at Geneva to discuss this matter. We are quite willing that all documents exchanged between the United States and the Soviet Union during these negotiations be published.

We hoped and believed that, if the Soviet Union would join with the United States, the United Kingdom, and other nations possessing fissionable

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1953, p. 847.

## U. S. Request to Secretary-General for Agenda Item on Atomic Energy

U.N. doc. A/2784 dated September 23

NEW YORK, 23 September 1954

I have the honour to request, under rule 15 of the rules of procedure, that an item entitled "International co-operation in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy: report of the United States of America" be added to the agenda of the General Assembly as an important and urgent question.

In connexion with the above-mentioned request I attach an explanatory memorandum, in accordance with rule 20 of the rules of procedure.

H. C. LODGE, Jr.  
Chairman

### EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM

The President of the United States, in his statement to the eighth regular session of the General Assembly on 8 December 1953, made far-reaching proposals to set up an international atomic energy agency under the aegis of the United Nations to develop plans whereby the peaceful use of atomic energy would be expedited. The President further indicated the willingness of the United States to take up with the Powers "principally involved" the development of plans for such an agency.

During the past year the United States has engaged in discussions on this subject with the Powers principally involved with atomic energy matters, and particularly with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. While the attempt to secure the co-operation of the USSR in this endeavour has not been successful, the other Governments with whom the United States has discussed this proposal have indicated general agreement on the objectives of the proposal and on the general nature of the international atomic energy agency.

The United States intends to proceed immediately, in conjunction with the other nations principally involved, to create an international agency to develop the constructive uses of atomic energy. This approach excludes no nation from participation in this great venture. As more precise plans take shape, all nations interested in participating and willing to take on the responsibilities of membership will be welcome to join in the planning and execution of this programme.

The United States believes that an international scientific conference of representatives of Governments and scientists would be useful in identifying the technical areas in which progress can best be made in applying atomic energy to peaceful ends, and accordingly suggests that the United Nations should convene such a conference. The United States intends at the appropriate time to describe in greater detail the nature of such a conference and its objectives.

There have been other significant developments during the past year in connexion with peaceful uses of nuclear energy concerning which the United States will report.

The United States believes that an explanation of these matters is of such import to all nations that it warrants the addition of this item to the General Assembly's agenda as an important and urgent matter.

material and atomic know-how, this act of co-operation might set a pattern which would extend itself elsewhere.

The plan we submitted could not have hurt anyone. It was motivated by the hope of lifting the darkest cloud that hangs over mankind. Its initial dimensions were not sufficient to impair the military capability of the Soviet Union, and there was no apparent reason for its rejection. Above all, it was a practicable, easily workable plan, not dependent on elaborate surveillance.

Nevertheless, the proposal was, in effect, rejected by the Soviet Union last April. Its rejection was not because of any alleged defects in the plan itself. Any such would certainly have been negotiable. The Soviet position was, in effect, to say—we will not cooperate to develop peacetime uses of atomic energy unless it is first of all agreed to renounce all those uses of atomic energy which provide the free nations with their strongest defense against aggression.

To date, the Soviet Government has shown no willingness to participate in the implementation of President Eisenhower's plan except on this completely unacceptable condition. Yesterday, when it was known that I would speak on this topic today, the Soviet Union broke a 5 months' silence by delivering a note in Moscow affirming its readiness to talk further. But the note still gave no indication that the Soviet Union had receded from its negative position.

The United States remains ready to negotiate with the Soviet Union. But we shall no longer suspend our efforts to establish an international atomic agency.

The United States is determined that President Eisenhower's proposal shall not languish until it dies. It will be nurtured and developed. We shall press on in close partnership with those nations which, inspired by the ideals of the United Nations Charter, can make this great new force a tool of the humanitarian and of the statesman, and not merely a fearsome addition to the arsenal of war.

The United States is proposing an agenda item which will enable us to report on our efforts to explore and develop the vast possibilities for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. These efforts have been and will be directed primarily toward the following ends:

- (1) The creation of an international agency,

## Statement by Ambassador Lodge on Atomic Pool Proposal<sup>1</sup>

In his speech yesterday, Secretary Dulles announced the decision of the Government of the United States to press forward with President Eisenhower's vital proposal for the establishment of an international agency to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Secretary Dulles referred to the sincere effort made by the United States to enlist the cooperation of the Soviet Union in this unprecedented offer to share the fruits of modern technology with all nations and peoples. The Soviet Union has refused to join in this venture so far. We can all hope that this refusal is not final.

But in any event, the attitude of the Soviet Union cannot be permitted to deprive the people of the world of the benefits of the greatest scientific discovery of modern times. The other nations which are in a position to contribute to this great venture have indicated their readiness to do so. The United States is determined to join with them without further delay in order that nations and peoples everywhere shall share as soon as possible in atomic progress for peace.

Substantial progress has already been made in the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and its by-products. A concerted international effort of the kind the United States is prepared to support could hasten the process of bringing this boon to human life out of the laboratory and putting it to work in fields, factories, and hospitals and all other places where people live and work.

The United States therefore proposes the addition to the agenda of the Ninth Regular Session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "International Cooperation in Developing the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Report of the United States of America."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Made in the General Committee on Sept. 24 (U.S./U.N. press release 1963).

<sup>2</sup> For text of formal request, see opposite page.

I am sure that the members of this committee will agree that this is an urgent and important matter in the sense of rule 15 of the General Assembly. The inclusion of this item on our agenda will permit the United States and other governments principally involved in the development of atomic energy to report more fully to this Assembly on the progress already achieved and on the efforts to set up an international atomic energy agency. It will also enable the General Assembly to consider the convening of an international scientific conference under the auspices of the United Nations to help in identifying areas in which further technical progress might be made. I am certain that the great majority of the members of the United Nations are anxious for this opportunity to assist in making the promise of atomic energy a beneficent reality for all people.

The United States believes that this item should be discussed in the Political Committee and recommends that the General Committee so decide.

There is probably no single matter before us at this General Assembly which holds out greater promise for actively and constructively promoting the material welfare of mankind.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The General Committee decided unanimously to add the U.S. item to the agenda as an important and urgent matter. After a statement by the Soviet representative, Andrei Vyshinsky, favoring the recommendation, Ambassador Lodge made the following additional remarks:

"Of course, no one will be happier than the representative of the United States to find that the Soviet Union by its actions makes clear its cooperation with this great idea. But let us not forget the words of the old proverb—actions speak louder than words. The world has been waiting for such action since last December 8. Secretary Dulles said yesterday we will be glad to publish the entire correspondence and then the world can reach its own judgment."

whose initial membership will include nations from all regions of the world. It is hoped that such an agency will start its work as early as next year.

(2) The calling of an international scientific conference to consider this whole vast subject, to meet in the spring of 1955, under the auspices of the United Nations.

(3) The opening early next year, in the United States, of a reactor training school where stu-

dents from abroad may learn the working principles of atomic energy with specific regard to its peacetime uses.

(4) The invitation to a substantial number of medical and surgical experts from abroad to participate in the work of our cancer hospitals—in which atomic energy techniques are among the most hopeful approaches to controlling this menace to mankind.

I would like to make perfectly clear that our



planning excludes no nation from participation in this great venture. As our proposals take shape, all nations interested in participating, and willing to take on the responsibilities of membership, will be welcome to join with us in the planning and execution of this program.

Even though much is denied us by Soviet negotiation, nevertheless much remains that can be done. There is denied the immense relaxation of tension which might have occurred had the Soviet Union been willing to begin to cooperate with other nations in relation to what offers so much to fear and so much to hope. Nevertheless, there is much to be accomplished in the way of economic and humanitarian gains. There is no miracle to be wrought overnight. But a program can be made and vitalized to assure that atomic energy can bring to millions a better way of life. To achieve that result is our firm resolve.

Closely allied to this question of peaceful uses of atomic energy is the whole vast and complex question of disarmament. At this Assembly last year, the United States affirmed its ardent desire to reduce the burden of armament. I stated here that the United States would vigorously carry forward the technical studies on armament control and limitation which are vital to any solution of this problem.

#### London Talks on Disarmament

Last spring the United States participated in discussions in London with the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and Canada on a subcommittee of our Disarmament Commission to see whether a fresh approach to the problem could achieve a solution acceptable to the Soviet Union as well as to the free world.<sup>4</sup> The record of these meetings has now been made public.

It shows that the representatives of Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States tried with patience and ingenuity to explore all avenues of agreement with the Soviet Union which would be consistent with the security of all nations. Once more we made clear, as we have again and again in the past, that we seek to eliminate the use of atomic energy for any purposes but those of peace.

These efforts were met by a flat refusal by the Soviet Union even to discuss our proposals on

their merits. The crux of the Soviet position was that, before it will engage in real negotiations on disarmament, it insists upon a paper ban by the major powers of the use of nuclear weapons. The great shield, the supreme deterrent, must first be abandoned, leaving the free nations exposed to the Communists' unrivaled manpower. Once this inequality has been assured, then—perhaps—the Soviet Union will negotiate further from its position of assured supremacy. Such procedure would not increase the security of any free nation.

Reluctantly we must conclude that the Soviet Union has at present no serious desire to negotiate on the disarmament problem. But we shall continue to hope, and to seek, that the Soviet Union may ultimately come to cooperate on a program which could end the wasteful diversion of vast economic wealth and bring it into the constructive service of mankind.

#### Charter Review

No doubt you will have observed that many of the efforts for peace to which I have referred were conducted outside of the United Nations itself. It should not, however, be forgotten that the organs of the United Nations are themselves steadily carrying forward activities which contribute substantially, even though not spectacularly, to the political, economic, and social conditions which are the foundation for peace. The United States wishes to pay a high tribute to those who perform these indispensable tasks.

If many major political developments have occurred outside the immediate framework of the United Nations, that is due to two causes—one good, one bad:

The charter of the United Nations itself provides that the parties to any dispute which would endanger international peace and security should first of all seek a solution by negotiation, resort to regional agencies, or other peaceful means of their own choice. Only when these methods fail should there be resort to the Security Council. In other words, the Security Council of the United Nations was never intended to be a court of first instance, but only a court of last resort. In this sense, the unprecedented peace efforts of the past year fall within the pattern which our charter itself prescribes.

A second cause exists, and it is disturbing. It is the fact that the membership of the United Na-

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1954, p. 171.

tions falls far short of representing the totality of those nations which are peace-loving, which are able and willing to carry out the obligations of the charter, and which are indispensable parties to many critical international problems. Fourteen nations are now debarred from membership only through the use—in reality the abuse—of the so-called veto power. None of these is in the category of Communist China, which has been found by the United Nations to be guilty of aggression. All 14 are fully qualified for membership. Unless ways can be found to bring peace-loving, law-abiding nations into this organization, then inevitably the power and influence of this organization will progressively decline.

We are approaching the tenth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. All of the member governments and their peoples may properly be thankful for the great accomplishments of the United Nations and for its unique service as a forum for international discussion. However, this coming anniversary must be made more than a date for self-congratulations. It is the time to

take account of weaknesses of our organization and of ways in which it can be made to function better as a guarantor of peace and justice and as a center for harmonizing the actions of nations. That, indeed, was the idea of the founders, who planned for a charter review conference to be called at the next annual session of our Assembly.

The search for peace has had its high hopes and its deep frustrations. But after the frustration, there is always renewed hope. On behalf of the United States I would say in my closing words that we believe that international peace is an attainable goal. That is the premise that underlies all our planning. We propose never to desist, never to admit discouragement, but confidently and steadily so to act that peace becomes for us a sustaining principle of action. In that, we know that we shall not be alone. That is not merely because we have treaties of alliance and bonds of expediency. It is because the spirit of peace is a magnet that draws together many men and many nations and makes of them a fellowship of loyal partners for peace.

### **BULLETIN Marks Twenty-fifth Anniversary**

This issue of the BULLETIN marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of an official periodical by the Department of State.

The first issue of *Press Releases*, predecessor to the BULLETIN, appeared on October 5, 1929. It contained, among other documents, a message from Secretary Stimson on the death of the German Foreign Minister, Gustav Stresemann. The second issue included the text of the British Government's invitation to the London Naval Conference, a message from President Hoover to the President of Argentina on the inauguration of air mail service between their countries, and information concerning the visit to Washington of Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald.

Issue No. 1 of *Press Releases* also was Publication No. 1 in the Department's newly inaugurated publication program. The consecutive numbering

system begun at that time is still in effect; publication No. 5545, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, Volume IV, The Far East*, was released on September 25.

On July 1, 1939, the Department of State BULLETIN first made its appearance, superseding both *Press Releases* and the monthly *Treaty Information* bulletin. The decision to discontinue the latter publications was based on the belief that "a single bulletin containing both treaty information and information on other closely related aspects of the conduct of American foreign relations would constitute a more useful and convenient source for current reference and for filing than two separate publications."

The present format of the BULLETIN was adopted with the issue of October 6, 1946.

## Correspondence With Soviet Union on Atomic Pool Proposal

Press release 531 dated September 25

*Following are the texts of documents exchanged between the Governments of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics between January and September 1954 during the course of negotiations concerning President Eisenhower's proposals before the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953.*

### NOTE HANDED TO AMBASSADOR GEORGI ZARUBIN BY SECRETARY DULLES, WASHINGTON, JANUARY 11

1. The United States suggests that the conversation with reference to atomic energy should initially be conducted through diplomatic channels, reserving the right of any participant to propose shifting the deliberations to the United Nations pursuant to its resolution suggesting private discussions under the auspices of the Disarmament Commission.<sup>1</sup>

2. It is suggested that the diplomatic discussions take place at Washington and wherever else it is convenient for the participants to meet. Presumably Mr. Molotov and Mr. Dulles would have a private discussion at Berlin.<sup>2</sup>

3. It is suggested that procedural talks should in their initial stage be limited to the U.S.S.R. and the United States, with the participation of the other nations principally involved as determined in the light of the subject matter to be discussed.

4. The United States is prepared to consider any proposal that the Soviet Union sees fit to make with reference to atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

5. However, the United States believes that the first effort should be to proceed on a modest basis which might engender the trust and confidence necessary for planning of larger scope. That is why the United States urges an early discussion of the proposal made by President Eisenhower on December 8, 1953. The United States is prepared to have concrete private discussions about this plan and its possible implementation.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 14, 1953, p. 838.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. during the four-power conference opening at Berlin on Jan. 25.

6. The United States suggests that privacy will better serve practical results at this time and that these talks should not be used for propaganda purposes by either side.

### NOTE HANDED TO SECRETARY DULLES BY AMBASSADOR ZARUBIN, WASHINGTON, JANUARY 19

[Translation]

In connection with the aide memoire handed by J. F. Dulles, Secretary of State, to Ambassador G. N. Zarubin on January 11, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to communicate the following.

1. Paragraph 1 of the U.S. aide memoire states:

The United States suggests that the conversation with reference to atomic energy should initially be conducted through diplomatic channels, reserving the right of any participant to propose shifting the deliberations to the United Nations pursuant to its resolution suggesting private discussions under the auspices of the Disarmament Commission.

On this point there are no remarks.

2. Paragraph 2 of the aide memoire of the U.S.A. states:

It is suggested that the diplomatic discussions take place at Washington and wherever else it is convenient for the participants to meet. Presumably Mr. Molotov and Mr. Dulles would have a private discussion at Berlin.

On paragraph 2 there are no remarks.

3. In paragraph 3 of the aide memoire of the U.S.A. it is said:

It is suggested that procedural talks should in their initial stage be limited to the U.S.S.R. and the United States, with the participation of the other nations principally involved as determined in the light of the subject matter to be discussed.

Agreement is expressed regarding the considerations stated in paragraph 3 of the aide memoire, keeping in mind that at the specified stage of the negotiations there will be considered the necessity for drawing into the negotiations all powers that bear the chief responsibility for maintaining peace and international security.

4. Paragraph 4 of the aide memoire of the U.S.A. states:

The United States is prepared to consider any proposal that the Soviet Union sees fit to make with reference to atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

Department of State Bulletin



In this connection it is necessary to recall the statement made by the Soviet Government on December 21, 1953,<sup>1</sup> which pointed out that the Soviet Government proceeds on the basis of the assumption that during the course of the negotiations there will be considered at the same time the proposal of the Soviet Union with regard to an agreement under which the states participating in the agreement would assume the unconditional obligation not to use the atomic, hydrogen, or any other weapon of mass destruction.

5. In paragraph 5 of the aide memoire of the U.S.A. it is said:

However, the United States believes that the first effort should be to proceed on a modest basis which might engender the trust and confidence necessary for planning of larger scope. That is why the United States urges an early discussion of the proposal made by President Eisenhower on December 8, 1953. The United States is prepared to have concrete private discussions about this plan and its possible implementation.

The Soviet Government agrees to consider President Eisenhower's proposal of December 8, 1953, and likewise agrees to enter into the said negotiations relating to this proposal. At the same time the Soviet Government considers it necessary to negotiate to the effect that in the discussion of this proposal made by the U.S.A. and the proposal made by the U.S.S.R. as mentioned in paragraph 4, the principle of rotation be observed, with one conference being devoted to the consideration of the U.S. proposal and the next being devoted to the consideration of the U.S.S.R. proposal.

6. Paragraph 6 of the aide memoire of the U.S.A. states:

The United States suggests that privacy will best serve practical results at this time and that these talks should not be used for propaganda purposes by either side.

On this paragraph there are no remarks.

#### **DRAFT DECLARATION HANDED TO SECRETARY DULLES BY MR. MOLOTOV, BERLIN, JANUARY 30**

[Translation]

*Draft Declaration of the Governments of the United States of America, England and France, Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union Concerning Unconditional Renunciation of Use of Atomic, Hydrogen and Other Forms of Weapons of Mass Destruction.*

The Governments of the United States of America, England, France, Chinese People's Republic and the U. S. S. R., determined to deliver humanity from the threat of destructive war with the use of atomic, hydrogen, and other forms of weapons of mass destruction, desirous of assisting in every way in the utilization of the great scientific discoveries in the field of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes for the well-being of peoples and the amelioration of their living conditions,

Considering that the unconditional renunciation by states of the use of atomic, hydrogen, and other forms of weapons of mass destruction corresponds to the basic purposes of the organization of the United Nations and would constitute an important step on the road to the complete withdrawal from national armaments of the atomic, hydrogen, and other forms of weapons of mass destruction with the establishment of strict international control guaranteeing the execution of agreement concerning the prohibition of the use of atomic energy for military purposes, animated by the aspirations of the peoples for a reduction in international tension,

Solemnly declare that they take upon themselves the unconditional obligation not to use atomic, hydrogen, and other forms of weapons of mass destruction;

Call on other countries to adhere to the present declaration.

#### **AIDE MEMOIRE HANDED TO SECRETARY DULLES BY MR. MOLOTOV, BERLIN, FEBRUARY 13**

[Translation]

1. In the aide memoire presented by the Ambassador of the U. S. S. R. in Washington to the Secretary of State of the U.S.A. on January 19, 1954, the Soviet Government expressed the view that at a subsequent stage of the negotiations on the atomic problem all the powers bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security should be invited to take part.

In a private talk with Mr. Dulles on January 30 last, V. M. Molotov explained that the powers referred to are the Five Powers, namely, the United States of America, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and the Chinese People's Republic.

2. In that talk Mr. Dulles expressed the view that Britain, France, and also Canada and Belgium should be invited to join in the negotiations on the atomic problem, and he explained that Canada and Belgium should take part as countries possessing resources of atomic materials.

3. In connection therewith the Soviet Government states that it would have no objection to the participation in the negotiations on the atomic problem at an appropriate stage, besides the Five Powers, of Canada and Belgium, and also believes it necessary to have Czechoslovakia invited to take part in the said negotiations as a country possessing atomic materials.

#### **LETTER FROM SECRETARY DULLES TO MR. MOLOTOV, BERLIN, FEBRUARY 16**

DEAR MR. MINISTER: I refer to your Aide Memoire, which you handed me on February 13, 1954, regarding the discussions on the atomic proposal.

In your numbered paragraph 2, you state that I "expressed the view that Britain, France and also Canada

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 18, 1954, p. 80.

and Belgium should be invited to join in the negotiations on the atomic problem, and (he) explained that Canada and Belgium should take part as countries possessing resources of atomic materials." This statement does not fully accord with my recollection of what I said on the subject on January 30. I would like to clear up the apparent misunderstanding. At that discussion I said that the United Kingdom, Canada and France had all made progress in the atomic field. I then referred to Belgium and other countries which were important sources of raw material. In these circumstances I indicated that if we shifted our talks from a bilateral basis to a broader conference at that stage the United States would raise the problem of what countries should participate.

In connection with the general subject of possible future participation, I should like to call your attention once more to a general statement which I have made repeatedly here in Berlin. This is that the United States is not prepared to participate in any conference with the Chinese Communist regime on the theory that it has, or shares, any special position of responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

I shall hope to be in a position to hand to Ambassador Zaroubin in Washington, shortly after my return, a memorandum on the substance of the President's proposal.

Very truly yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

His Excellency

V. M. MOLOTOV,

*Minister of Foreign Affairs for  
the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.*

#### LETTER FROM MR. MOLOTOV TO SECRETARY DULLES, BERLIN, FEBRUARY 18

[Translation]

DEAR MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: I confirm the receipt of your letter of February 16, 1954.

Inasmuch as you are already preparing to depart today, I will send my reply to your letter through the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Washington, Zaroubin.

Respectfully,

V. MOLOTOV

#### MEMORANDUM HANDED TO ACTING SECRETARY SMITH BY AMBASSADOR ZAROUBIN, WASHINGTON, MARCH 10

[Translation]

In connection with the letter from the Secretary of State of the United States of America of February 16 of this year addressed to Mr. V. M. Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U. S. S. R., I am instructed by Mr. V. M. Molotov to state the following:

The views expressed in the letter that it is not considered expedient to define at present which specific coun-

tries should be invited to participate in the talks on the atomic question at a later stage of the talks have been noted.

As already stated in the aide memoire handed to Mr. Dulles by Ambassador Zaroubin January 19, as well as in the private discussion held by Mr. V. M. Molotov and Mr. Dulles at Berlin, the Soviet Government agrees to negotiate with the Government of the United States of America on the atomic question on a bilateral basis. At the same time, in case it is decided to shift these negotiations to a broader basis, there is no objection to an additional examination of the question as to the participants in such negotiations.

With regard to the possible participation of the Chinese People's Republic in the negotiations on the atomic question at a subsequent stage, the opinion of the Soviet Government on this question was stated in the aide memoire of February 13.

#### MEMORANDUM HANDED TO AMBASSADOR ZAROUBIN BY SECRETARY DULLES, WASHINGTON, MARCH 19

##### OUTLINE OF AN INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

The United States Government wishes to submit additional tentative views amplifying the proposals for an International Atomic Energy Agency as presented by the President of the United States to the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953:

##### I. The Objectives of the U.S. Proposals

The U.S. proposes that there should be established under the aegis of the United Nations an International Atomic Energy Agency to receive supplies of nuclear materials from those member nations having stocks of such materials to be used for the following objectives:

- A. to encourage world-wide research and development of peaceful uses of atomic energy by assuring that engineers and scientists of the world have sufficient materials to conduct such activities and by fostering the interchange of information.
- B. to furnish nuclear materials to meet the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities including the eventual production of power.

##### II. The International Atomic Energy Agency

- A. The Agency would be created by and derive its authority under the terms of a treaty among the participating nations. To the greatest extent practicable, the treaty should define standards and principles which would govern the Agency in the discharge of its functions.
- B. Membership—all signatory states would be members of the Agency.

### C. Governing Body

1. The highest executive authority in the Agency should be exercised by a Board of Governors, of limited membership representing governments. In determining the composition of the Board of Governors, it might be desirable to take account of geographic distribution and membership by prospective beneficiaries. It is expected that the principal contributors would be on the Board of Governors.
  2. It is suggested that decisions of the Board of Governors generally should be taken by some form of majority vote. Arrangements could be worked out to give the principal contributing countries special voting privileges on certain matters, such as allocations of fissionable material.
- D. Staff—The Staff of the Agency should be headed by an administrative head or general manager, appointed for a fixed term by the Board of Governors and subject to its control, and, of course, include highly qualified scientific and technical personnel. Under the general supervision of the Board, the administrative head should be responsible for the appointment, organization and functioning of the Staff.

### E. Financing

1. Funds for the central facilities and fixed plant of the Agency and its research projects should be provided through appropriation by the participating states in accordance with a scale of contributions to be agreed upon. It is suggested that it might be possible to utilize the general principles governing the scale of contributions by individual members to the UN.
  2. Funds for specific projects submitted by member nations to utilize the materials or services of the Agency should be provided by the recipient country concerned through specific arrangements in each case.
- F. The administrative headquarters of the Agency could be located at a place mutually agreed upon.
- G. Relationship to the United Nations and Other International Bodies—The Agency should submit reports to the UN Security Council and General Assembly when requested by either of these organs. The Agency should also consult and cooperate with other UN bodies whose work may be related to that of the Agency.
- H. The facilities of the Agency would include:

1. Plant, equipment, and facilities for the receipt, storage, and issuance of nuclear materials.
2. Physical safeguards.
3. Control laboratories for analysis and verification of receipts and inventory control of nuclear materials.
4. Necessary housing for administrative and other activities of the Agency not included in the preceding categories.

5. Those facilities, as might in time be necessary, for such purposes as education and training, research and development, fuel fabrication and chemical processing.

### III. Functions of the Agency

#### A. Receipt and Storage of Materials

1. All member nations possessing stocks of normal and enriched uranium, thorium metal, U-233, U-235, U-238, plutonium and alloys of the foregoing would be expected to make contributions of such material to the Agency.
2. The United States would be prepared to make as a donation, a substantial initial contribution of nuclear materials towards the needs of the Agency. The USSR would make an equivalent donation towards these needs.
3. The Agency would specify the place, method of delivery, and, when appropriate, the form and composition of materials it will receive. The Agency would also verify stated quantities of materials received and would report to the members these amounts. The Agency would be responsible for storing and protecting materials in a way to minimize the likelihood of surprise seizure.

#### B. Allocation of Materials by the Agency

1. The Agency would review proposals submitted by participating members desiring to receive allocations of Agency stocks in the light of uniform and equitable criteria, including:
  - a. The use to which material would be put, including scientific and technical feasibility.
  - b. The adequacy of plans, funds, technical personnel, etc., to assure effective use of the material.
  - c. Adequacy of proposed health and safety measures for handling and storing materials and for operating facilities.
  - d. Equitable distribution of available materials.
2. Title to nuclear materials would initially remain with the Agency, which would determine fair payment to be made for use of materials.
3. In order to insure that adequate health and safety standards were being followed, and in order to assure that allocated fissionable material is being used for the purposes for which it was allocated, the Agency would have the continuing authority to prescribe certain design and operating conditions, health and safety regulations, require accountability and operating records, specify disposition of byproduct fissionable materials and wastes, retain the right of monitoring and require progress reports. The Agency would also have authority to verify status of allocated material inventories and to verify compliance with the terms of issuance.
4. Information about all transactions entered into by the Agency would be available to all members.

#### C. Information and Service Activities of the Agency

1. All member nations possessing information



relevant to the activities of the Agency would be expected to make contributions from that information to the Agency.

2. In addition to data developed as a result of its own activities, the Agency would have available:

- a. Data developed by participating countries as a result of the utilization of the materials, information, services, and other assistance of the Agency.
- b. Data already publicly available in some of the countries.
- c. Data developed and previously held by principals or other members and voluntarily contributed to the Agency.

3. The Agency would encourage the exchange of scientific and technical information among nations, and be responsible for making wide dissemination of the data in its possession.

4. The Agency would serve as an intermediary securing the performance of services by one participating country for another. Among the specific activities the Agency might provide would be the following:

- a. Training and education.
- b. Services concerned with developing codes for public health and safety in connection with the utilization of fissionable materials.
- c. Consultative technical services in connection with the establishment and carrying on of programs.
- d. Processing of nuclear materials (i. e., chemical separation and purification, fabrication of fuel elements, etc.).
- e. Supply of special materials, such as heavy water.
- f. Design and supply of specialized equipment.
- g. Special laboratory services such as conduct of experiments and tests.
- h. Aid in making financial arrangements for the support of appropriate projects.

**AIDE MEMOIRE HANDED TO SECRETARY DULLES BY MR. MOLOTOV, GENEVA, APRIL 27**

**[Translation]**

In connection with the memorandum of the Government of the U. S. A. dated March 19, containing supplementary explanations concerning the international organ (agency) of atomic energy, discussed in President Eisenhower's statement of December 8, 1953, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to state the following considerations.

In the aforementioned statement of the President of the U. S. A. which underlined the special danger of the atomic weapon, a proposal was made that the appropriate states allocate a small part of the atomic materials out

of their stocks for the disposal of the International Agency to use for peaceful needs. In the memorandum of March 19 several details of the organization of the aforementioned International Agency were given, but those remarks which were made by the Soviet Government in its statement of December 21 concerning the statement of the President of the U. S. A. on December 8 were completely ignored. Nevertheless, these remarks of the Soviet Government aim to achieve an agreement concerning the prohibition of atomic weapons and to secure the acceptance of an obligation by the states in the very near future not to use atomic and hydrogen weapons, which are by their nature weapons of aggression.

In his address of December 8 the President of the U. S. A. declared "My country wants to be constructive, not destructive. It wants agreements, not wars, among nations." In this statement the President of the U. S. A. also said: "The United States, heeding the suggestion of the General Assembly of the United Nations, is instantly prepared to meet privately with such other countries as may be 'principally involved', to seek 'an acceptable solution' to the atomic armaments race which overshadows not only the peace, but the very life, of the world."

These statements of the President of the U. S. A. expressed wishes for peace, a yearning to find a solution of the problem of the atomic armament race, together with representatives of other countries, and a desire to achieve "agreements, not wars, among nations." Inasmuch as it is the constant aspiration of the Government of the U. S. S. R. to assist in strengthening peace among nations and under present conditions, in particular, to assist in the elimination of the threat of an atomic war, the Soviet Government has expressed readiness to take part in the appropriate negotiations.

However, the Soviet Government has considered and still considers it necessary to call special attention to the following.

First: The proposal of the U. S. A. that the appropriate states place a small part of atomic materials out of their stocks at the disposal of the International Organ to be used for peaceful needs, cannot assist in the achievement of the aims set forth in the aforementioned address of the President of the U. S. A. By such an allocation of a small part of the atomic materials for peaceful needs, the principal mass of the atomic materials will go, as before, for the production of new atomic and hydrogen bombs, which means a further accumulation of atomic weapons and the possibility of creating new types of this weapon of more destructive force. Such a situation means that the states which have the opportunity to produce atomic and hydrogen weapons will not be restrained at all in the further increase of stocks of this weapon.

The allocation of a small portion of atomic materials out of the stocks in existence to be utilized for peaceful needs may only create the appearance that the quantity of atomic materials allocated for the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons is being decreased. But, in reality that is not the case at all. The production of atomic materials in a number of countries has been

growing with each year so fast that the allocation of a certain part for peaceful needs will by no means reduce the quantity of the newly produced atomic and hydrogen bombs. Consequently, even in case the U. S. proposal should be carried out, it would be impossible to say that the atomic armament race is being stopped, as was said in the statement of the President of the U. S. A. of December 8.

The level of science and technique which has been reached at the present time makes it possible for the very application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes to be utilized for increasing the production of atomic weapons.

It is well known that it is practically feasible to carry out on an industrial scale a process of obtaining electrical power for peaceful needs by utilizing atomic materials, in which the quantity of the fissionable atomic materials applied in the process not only fails to decrease but, on the contrary, increases. And the harmless atomic materials are converted into explosive and fissionable materials which are the basis for the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons. In other words, the fact that the peaceful application of atomic energy is connected with the possibility of simultaneous production of atomic materials utilized for the manufacture of the atomic weapon is indisputable and has been proved in practice. Such a situation not only fails to lead to a reduction of the stocks of atomic materials utilized for the manufacture of atomic weapons, but also leads to an increase of these stocks without any limitations being applied either to the constantly increasing production of these materials in individual states or to production by the International Agency itself.

Consequently, the proposal of the U. S. A. concerning the allocation of a certain portion of atomic materials to be utilized for peaceful purposes not only fails to stop the atomic armament race but leads to its further intensification.

Second: The U. S. proposal of December 8, as well as the U. S. A. memorandum of March 19, completely evades the problem of the inadmissibility of the use of atomic weapons, which are weapons of mass destruction.

The acceptance of President Eisenhower's proposal would by no means restrict the aggressor in utilizing atomic weapons for any purpose and at any time and consequently would not diminish at all the danger of a war with the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Thus, the acceptance of the aforementioned proposal of the U. S. A. would not introduce any change into the existing situation, when states which have at their disposal atomic materials and appropriate manufacturing and technical possibilities for the production of atomic weapons produce them on an increasing scale and accumulate stocks of atomic and hydrogen bombs of more and more destructive power. Besides, all this takes place under conditions of complete absence of any international agreement whatsoever which binds states in the application of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

However, it cannot be denied that recently there has been widespread uneasiness in many countries in connection with the increase in the destructive power of the atomic weapon and especially in view of the appearance

of the hydrogen weapon. It would be wrong not to consider these well-known facts and the ever-increasingly insistent demands not to permit the use of the atomic and the hydrogen weapon in warfare.

All this justifies the conclusion that neither the U. S. proposal of December 8 nor the U. S. memorandum of March 19 meets the basic purpose—elimination of the threat of atomic war.

In its statement of December 21 the Soviet Government pointed out that if the Government of the U. S. A., as well as the Government of the U. S. S. R. is striving to reduce international tension and strengthen peace, then the efforts of both Governments should be directed toward concluding an agreement for prohibiting the atomic weapon and toward establishing a suitable and effective international control over this prohibition. With such an international prohibition against the atomic weapon, broad possibilities would be opened for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Since the statement of December 8 of the President of the U. S. A. and the U. S. memorandum of March 19 both evade the question of prohibiting the atomic weapon and actually ignore the possibility of further unlimited increase in the production of this weapon and its use by an aggressor, the U. S. proposal for the creation of an international agency for the utilization of atomic energy does not reduce the danger of atomic warfare in the slightest. Moreover, it may even serve ends that are the exact opposite. This proposal to use some portion of the atomic materials for peaceful purposes may create the deceptive appearance of curtailing the production of the atomic weapon and may lead to the relaxing of vigilance on the part of nations with regard to the growing threat of war with the use of this weapon of aggression and mass destruction of people.

The fact that heretofore it has been impossible to conclude an appropriate agreement for the unconditional prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, and other types of weapons of mass destruction not only does not diminish the importance of efforts in this direction but, on the contrary, makes such efforts still more necessary, taking into account the ever-increasing danger for nations in connection with the continuing race in the production of the atomic and the hydrogen weapon. This applies especially to those states which have available the corresponding resources in atomic materials and are producing the atomic and the hydrogen weapon.

If the matter were reduced merely to agreements between states, that for peaceful purposes there should be allotted only some small portion of the atomic materials, but the production of the atomic weapon in the future also should not be restricted at all, then such an international agreement would in fact grant an inadmissible sanction to the production of the atomic weapon, which would suit the convenience of the aggressive forces only. This sort of international sanction of the production of the atomic weapon not only would not facilitate the conclusion of an agreement for its prohibition but would, on the contrary, be a new obstacle on the road to the conclusion of such an agreement.

It is indispensable that not merely some portion, but the entire mass of atomic materials be directed entirely to peaceful purposes, that the achievements of science in



this field serve not purposes of war and mass destruction of people but purposes of improving economic life and culture, which would open up unprecedented opportunities for improving industry, agriculture, and transportation, for use in medicine, for perfecting technical processes and the further progress of science.

The prohibition of the atomic and the hydrogen weapon and the utilization of all atomic materials for peaceful purposes, supplying the proper aid to regions that are economically weak, would at the same time promote the possibility of concluding an agreement on the matter of a decisive reduction in conventional types of armaments. This would make it possible to greatly alleviate the tax burden which nations are bearing as a result of the existence in many states of inordinately swollen armies, since the armament race goes on.

Desiring to facilitate the possibility of concluding an agreement for the unconditional and complete prohibition of the atomic weapon and the establishment of appropriate international control, the Soviet Government, having expressed its readiness to take part in negotiations with respect to the proposal of the Government of the U. S. A., has, on its part, introduced the following proposal for consideration:

*Being guided by the desire to reduce international tension, the states participating in the Agreement undertake the solemn and unconditional obligation not to use atomic, hydrogen, or any other weapon of mass destruction.*

This proposal was set down as the basis for the draft of a declaration of the Governments of the U. S. A., Great Britain, France, the Chinese People's Republic, and the Soviet Union, a draft which the Soviet Government communicated on January 30 to the Government of the U. S. A., as well as to the Governments of Great Britain, France, and the Chinese People's Republic. The adoption of the obligation of unconditional repudiation of the use of the atomic and the hydrogen weapon by states, and first of all by the Great Powers, would mean a great step toward relieving humanity of the threat of atomic war with its countless sacrifices and hardships.

The Soviet Government observes that the Government of the U. S. A. has so far not only failed to recognize the necessity for the urgent prohibition of the atomic and hydrogen weapon and for the establishment of appropriate international control over this prohibition, but it has also failed to express readiness to come to an understanding on the unconditional repudiation by states of the use of the atomic, the hydrogen, or any other weapon of mass destruction. In this connection, the Soviet Government attaches special importance to achieving coordination between the positions of the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. with regard to the adoption by states of the solemn and unconditional obligation not to use the atomic, the hydrogen, or any other weapon of mass destruction. Consideration of the separate proposals regarding partial utilization of atomic materials for peaceful purposes, without agreement between states on repudiating the use of the atomic weapon, would not contribute anything at all toward reducing international tension and the danger of war. Besides, it might lead to a blunting of the vigilance of nations with regard to this danger.

In view of the considerations cited and in accordance with General Eisenhower's statement concerning the desire of the U. S. A. to reduce international tension, the Soviet Government considers it urgently necessary in the first place to arrive at an agreement between the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. on the question of repudiating the use of the atomic weapon, without which the negotiations initiated cannot yield the proper results, in which the peoples of our countries and other states are interested.

As far as the other questions dealt with in the U. S. memorandum of March 19 are concerned, the inadequacy and one-sidedness of which are obvious, they can be considered as a supplement, after arriving at agreement on the fundamental questions.

#### **INFORMAL PAPER LEFT WITH MR. MOLOTOV BY SECRETARY DULLES, GENEVA, MAY 1**

1. I have now read the aide-memoire of the Soviet Union of April 27 re the proposal for "an international atomic energy agency" submitted to the Soviet Ambassador in Washington on March 19. This aide-memoire criticizes the proposal on the grounds that it would not substantially reduce atomic material stockpiles, or control the making or use of atomic weapons or remove the threat of atomic war.

2. These criticisms misconstrue the purpose of the US proposal of March 19. By its terms this proposal was not intended as a measure for the control of atomic weapons or for solving itself the various other problems mentioned in the Soviet note. Its purpose was the more limited one of initiating international cooperation in the field of atomic energy on a basis which would avoid many of the obstacles which have heretofore blocked any agreement. In this way the proposal could contribute to improving relations among the cooperating nations and thereby to facilitating solution of the more difficult problem of effective control of atomic energy for military purposes.

3. Accordingly, the US cannot concur in the view of the Soviet Union that creation of an international agency to foster the use of atomic materials for peaceful purposes would not be useful in itself. On the contrary, it believes that such an agency could have valuable results both in encouraging closer cooperation among the participating nations and in expediting more extensive use of atomic energy for purposes beneficial to mankind. The US therefore regrets that the Soviet Union is not willing to explore this matter further at this time.

4. In view of the lack of interest now of the Soviet Union in pursuing this proposal, the US will feel free to examine the creation of such an agency with other nations which might be interested. If the Soviet Union should later decide that it wishes to take part in any such discussions, the US will, of course, welcome its participation.

5. The US proposal of March 19 was, of course, not intended as a substitute for an effective system of control of atomic energy for military purposes. The US will continue, as heretofore, to seek means of achieving such control under reliable and adequate safeguards. It is



prepared to continue exchanges of views with the Soviet Union for that purpose, and will shortly submit to the Soviet Union comments on its proposal referred to in its aide-memoire of April 27.

**MEMORANDUM HANDED TO AMBASSADOR ZARUBIN BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MERCHANT, WASHINGTON, JULY 9**

The United States has further considered the draft declaration of January 30 and Aide-Memoire of April 27 delivered by the Soviet Union to the United States. The United States wishes to make the following comments:

**I.**

1. The President's speech of December 8, 1953 to the United Nations General Assembly pointed out the dangers of the atomic armaments race and stressed the desire of the United States to remove these dangers by any effective method which includes adequate safeguards against violations and evasions. The United States would welcome any system of disarmament which would serve to protect the peoples of the world from the threat of war and relieve them of the heavy burden of military defense in a manner consistent with their security.

2. The United States is also aware of the difficulties which have been experienced since 1946 in trying to negotiate a disarmament plan. From that date until the present, the United States has persistently sought, alone and in concert with other nations, to find ways of easing the burden of armaments and of lessening the threat of war. In the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission from 1946 through 1948, in the Commission for Conventional Armaments from 1947 through 1950, in the special meetings of the Six Permanent Members of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in 1949 and 1950, and in the United Nations Disarmament Commission since 1951, the overwhelming majority of nations was able to reach agreement—the Soviet Union alone prevented progress.

3. Despite this discouraging record, the President, in his address on December 8, stated that the United States, heeding the resolution of November 28, 1953 of the General Assembly of the United Nations, was "prepared to meet privately with such other countries as may be 'principally involved' to seek 'an acceptable solution' to the atomic armaments race which overshadows not only the peace but the very life of the world."

**II.**

4. In his address, the President also stated that the United States would carry into these talks a new proposal for an international atomic energy agency to expedite the use of atomic energy to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind. In its memorandum of March 19, the United States explained in more detail its views on the method for converting this conception into a practical reality. The Aide-Memoire of April 27 of the Soviet Union appears to misconstrue completely the purpose of this specific proposal.

5. This proposal was intended to make a beginning toward bringing to the peoples of the world the peaceful benefits of atomic energy. This offer by the United States to join with other nations having atomic facilities to furnish fissionable material and atomic energy technology for the common benefit, would provide a new opportunity for international cooperation. Successful cooperation in the implementation of the President's proposal would surely result in an improved atmosphere, which, in turn, could significantly improve the prospects for genuine, safeguarded international disarmament. The proposal itself was not put forward as a disarmament plan.

6. The Soviet Aide-Memoire of April 27 states in effect that the USSR will not cooperate in steps to achieve peaceful benefits of atomic power for the world until the United States agrees to a ban on the use of atomic weapons. The primary reason given for this position is that under the President's United Nations proposal, stockpiles of weapon grade material could continue to increase after the international agency had been established. Yet the Soviet proposal for a ban on weapons' use would not in any way prevent such increases in stockpiles. Accordingly, the United States cannot agree that the Soviet position provides a valid objection to proceeding at this time with steps for promoting the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

7. The Soviet Union also appears to assume that any form of peaceful utilization of atomic energy must necessarily increase stocks of materials available for military purposes. In reality, however, ways can be devised to safeguard against diversion of materials from power producing reactors. And there are forms of peaceful utilization in which no question of weapon grade material arises.

8. The United States believes that the nations most advanced in knowledge regarding the constructive uses of atomic energy have an obligation to make it available, under appropriate conditions, for promoting the welfare of peoples generally. At the present stage of nuclear technology, the United States believes that it is now possible to make a beginning in this direction. Accordingly, the United States will feel free to go ahead with its proposal with other interested nations, even though the Soviet Union does not wish to pursue it at this time. If at a later time the Soviet Union should decide to take part in any such discussions, the United States will continue to welcome such participation.

**III.**

9. The Soviet Union refers to its proposal of January 30 for an international agreement calling for unconditional renunciation of the use of atomic, hydrogen and other forms of weapons of mass destruction. The United States has thoroughly and earnestly considered this proposal in accordance with its oft-declared policy to examine with an open mind all suggested approaches to the problem of disarmament.

10. In the opinion of the United States, any effective plan for disarmament must provide satisfactory answers to two fundamental questions:

a. First, will the plan result in an actual reduction or

October 4, 1954

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485

elimination of national armaments in a manner consistent with the security of each nation? A paper promise not to use weapons will not enable the nations safely to reduce their armaments. The very existence of any weapon poses the possibility of its use, despite promises not to do so, which can be broken without notice.

b. Second, will the plan materially reduce or eliminate the danger of aggression and warfare? If any plan would, in fact, tend to increase the danger of resort to war by a potential aggressor, it would not accomplish the basic purpose of disarmament.

11. The Soviet Union's proposal of January 30 fails to meet either of these basic tests, or to offer any hope for beneficial results in the disarmament field:

a. It would leave unimpaired existing armaments and continued armament production. This is clear from the terms of the Soviet proposal itself. There would be only an exchange of promises not to make use of weapons which are still retained. There could be no certainty that these assurances would be observed. The maintenance of stocks of weapons and the continued manufacture of weapons would bear ominous witness to the danger that the assurances might be disregarded.

b. The danger of aggression and war would not be lessened if the Soviet proposal were put in effect. Indeed, it could be increased, since the deterrent effect upon a potential aggressor of the existence of nuclear weapons would doubtless be lessened if his possible victims had undertaken an obligation not to use them. Such an aggressor might be tempted to initiate an attack in the hope that the ban would prevent or delay the use of such weapons in the defense of his victims. Yet, the aggressor with nuclear weapons would be in a position to repudiate his past assurances and employ nuclear weapons whenever it suited his interests. Thus, such a plan might merely serve to induce aggression and weaken its victims.

12. Not only does the Soviet proposal fail to meet the necessary tests of any effective plan to prevent atomic warfare, but it would in fact harm the chances of adoption of any such effective plan. For surely the Soviet proposal, if it were accepted, would tend to create the deceptive impression that the danger of atomic warfare had somehow been limited and weaken the vigilance of the people regarding a threat which had, if anything, increased. This false sense of security could discourage further efforts to achieve genuine disarmament under effective safeguards, which would actually enhance the security of all, reduce the danger of war, and lighten the heavy burden of armaments.

#### IV.

13. The United States reaffirms, as it did in the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 17, 1950, that, whatever the method used, aggression itself is the gravest of all dangers. Only if there is aggression will the world be exposed to the horrors of modern war.

14. The signatories of the United Nations Charter have undertaken solemn assurances not to commit aggression. In conformity with its historic traditions, the United States will never violate that pledge. But, as indicated, the United States is convinced that the only truly effective way to ensure that aggression will not take place and that nuclear weapons will not be used in war is to adopt a safeguarded, balanced system of disarmament. Such a system could materially reduce the chance of successful aggression, and thereby minimize the risk of any aggression at all.

15. The United States continues to believe that a solution of the armaments problem is essential. Despite its inability to accept the Soviet proposal, the United States is ready at all times to discuss acceptable measures for effective disarmament under proper safeguards. It is prepared to do so either in the continuation of private exchanges or in the United Nations Disarmament Commission. In view of the urgency of disarmament, the United States will welcome such a continuation if the Soviet Union considers it a useful means for seeking a common approach to this problem.

16. The United States also hopes that, in the light of the foregoing, the Soviet Union will wish to comment further on the concrete proposal submitted by the United States on March 19, 1954. In any event the United States is prepared to renew with the Soviet Union at any time the talks on the President's proposal.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, July 9, 1954.

#### AIDE MEMOIRE HANDED TO AMBASSADOR BOHLEN BY MR. GROMYKO, MOSCOW, SEPTEMBER 22

[Translation]

The Soviet Government has examined the U.S. Government's memorandum of July 9, 1954, which is in answer to the U.S.S.R. Government's aide memoire of April 27 and considers it necessary to state the following:

In the above-mentioned aide-memoire of April 27 the Soviet Government set forth certain observations in connection with the U.S. Government's proposal concerning the establishment of an International Organ for Atomic Energy, which was discussed in President Eisenhower's statement of December 8, 1953. The Soviet Government drew attention to the fact that the implementation of the U.S.A.'s proposal, which provides that appropriate states allot from their stockpiles a certain part of atomic materials to the disposition of the International Organ to be used for peaceful purposes, cannot contribute to stopping the atomic armaments race. In this connection the fact was pointed out that states which have the ability to produce atomic and hydrogen weapons will in no way be hampered in further increase of stockpiles of them by allotting only a small part of atomic materials to peace-

\* Andrei Gromyko, Deputy Foreign Minister.



ful purposes while the main body of these materials will as before go for production of atomic weapons.

In the above-mentioned aide memoire of April 27 the Soviet Government also drew attention to the fact that the United States of America's proposal avoids the question of the impermissibility of using atomic weapons which are weapons of mass destruction, and that acceptance of this proposal of the U.S.A. would bring about no change in the existing situation, whereby states disposing of atomic materials and corresponding possibilities for production of atomic weapons are producing them on an ever-increasing scale and are building up stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen bombs of ever greater destructive force.

Such a situation would mean that in fact inadmissible international approval would be given to the production of atomic weapons, a fact which not only would not facilitate the attainment of agreement regarding prohibition of atomic weapons and their removal from state armaments but on the contrary would create new obstacles on the path of reaching such agreement. It is not hard to understand that this would serve the purpose only of a potential aggressor; thus the U.S.A.'s proposal does not satisfy the basic aim—to remove the threat of atomic war.

In its memorandum of July 9 the Government of the U.S.A. speaks of its desire to seek, together with other countries, ways of lessening the threat of war and lightening the armaments burden. The Soviet Government is of the opinion that, if the Government of the U.S.A. as well as the Government of the Soviet Union desires to lessen the threat of war and lighten the armaments burden, the efforts of both Governments should be directed toward the attainment of an agreement regarding prohibition of atomic weapons with the establishment of strict international supervision over this prohibition and regarding substantial limitation on conventional armaments of states.

With just this end in mind the Soviet Government has more than once advanced proposals in the United Nations which provide for the conclusion of an international convention regarding unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction and regarding substantial limitation of conventional armaments. In advancing these proposals the Soviet Government based itself on the fact that they answer the ever-increasing popular demands to put an end to the armaments race, including in field of atomic weapons, and to take urgent measures to deliver humanity from the horrors of destructive atomic war. Despite the assertion contained in the American memorandum of July 9, it is not the Soviet Union but the Government of the U.S.A. which has up to the present time prevented the conclusion of an agreement under conditions acceptable to all sovereign and equal states, both regarding prohibition of atomic weapons and also regarding substantial limitation of conventional armaments with establishment of effective supervision over fulfillment of such decisions.

International agreement regarding prohibition of atomic weapons with establishment of appropriate supervision over this prohibition would open wide possibilities for use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

As is known, up to this time it has not been possible

to reach appropriate international agreement regarding unconditional prohibition of atomic, hydrogen, and other types of weapons of mass destruction, in view of the fact that the United States from the very beginning of the arising of the atomic problem has refused to take part together with other states in an international agreement prohibiting atomic weapons.

However, the circumstance that it has not been possible to reach such agreement up to the present time should not diminish the significance of efforts to reach the required agreement between interested states.

Such a new effort on the Soviet Government's part to find a way out of the existing situation was the Soviet Union's proposal that states take upon themselves the *unconditional obligation not to use atomic, hydrogen, or other types of weapons of mass destruction*. This proposal in the form of a draft of an appropriate declaration by states was transmitted to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, on January 30.

Renunciation by states of the use of atomic, hydrogen, and other types of weapons of mass destruction would be an important step on the path toward removal from state armaments of these types of weapons and establishment of strict international supervision guaranteeing fulfillment of an agreement regarding prohibition of use of atomic energy for military purposes. Acceptance of the above-mentioned declaration would have tremendous significance in the matter of removing the threat of war in which atomic weapons would be used, would contribute to strengthening international trust and lessening international tension, and also to improving atmosphere, the importance of which the U.S. Government refers to in its aide memoire.

As is apparent from the U.S. Government's memorandum of July 9, the Government of the U.S.A. has taken a negative position with regard to the above-mentioned proposal of the Soviet Union. As an objection to the Soviet proposal the U.S. Government refers to the alleged fact that it cannot be sure that an agreement regarding unconditional renunciation by states of use of atomic and hydrogen weapons will be carried out. However, if one takes this point of view, one must in such a case recognize that almost any international treaty or any agreement, and also consequently obligations undertaken in accordance with it, must be placed in doubt. It stands to reason that it is impossible to agree with this, since it contradicts established principles and standards of relations between states.

In reality the international obligations of states which could arise out of a declaration regarding the renunciation of use of weapons of mass destruction could have not less but rather far more significance than certain important international agreements concluded in the past whose positive significance is generally recognized.

It is known that during the First World War, when there was as yet no corresponding international agreement, there were widely used such weapons of mass destruction as suffocating and poisonous gases and also other types of chemical weapons which met with the decisive condemnation of peoples. Specifically in this connection the necessity was recognized of concluding an interna-



tional agreement forbidding the use of such types of weapons of mass destruction of people. As a result, the Geneva Protocol concerning prohibition of chemical and bacteriological weapons was signed in 1925. It is known that this protocol played an important role in preventing the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons during the Second World War, as a result of which peoples were spared the grave consequences of use of these weapons by belligerents.

This fact shows that international agreements containing obligations not to use specific types of weapons in war are not only possible but necessary and are important means of struggling for the strengthening of peace. This should be all the more applicable to an agreement concerning the most destructive weapons known to mankind, atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Also groundless is the allegation contained in the U.S. Government's aide memoire that international agreement on the renunciation by states of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons could increase the danger of war, as is also the assertion that the existing situation, which is characterized by an unlimited race in the field of production of atomic weapons, creates greater security than the conclusion of an agreement on renunciation by states of the use of the types of weapons mentioned. Such an assertion is in clear contradiction to the actual situation and to the facts. It was specifically with the appearance of atomic and then hydrogen weapons, and also of rocket and other new types of weapons of mass destruction of ever-growing destructive force, that the armaments race, including the race in production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, especially gained intensity and at the same time the threat increased of atomic war with all the grave consequences ensuing therefrom for all peoples.

On the other hand, the renunciation by states of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons would change the international situation, would assist in further reduction of tension in international relations and would lighten the burden of the armaments race and excessive expenditures on the maintenance in many states of swollen armed forces. This, in its turn, would create conditions for the transition to the next step, to complete the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and their removal from the armaments of states.

In the Soviet Government's aide memoire of April 27 of this year attention was drawn to the fact that it is possible to carry out the process on an industrial scale of generating electrical energy through utilization of atomic materials whereby the quantity of fissionable materials used does not decrease but rather, on the contrary, increases. At the same time nondangerous materials are turned into dangerous and explosive materials capable of serving as the basis for production of atomic and hydrogen weapons. This means that the peaceful use of atomic energy is tied to the possibility of simultaneously producing explosive atomic materials for manufacture of atomic weapons, which immutably leads to an increase in the scale of production of atomic weapons and an increase in the stocks of these.

In the U.S. Government's memorandum it is stated that forms of peaceful utilization of atomic energy are possible in which ways can be found to guarantee against

seepage of materials from factories producing energy and that according to the opinion of the U.S. Government there are forms of peaceful utilization in which the question of materials going into production of atomic weapons does not arise. The Soviet Government is ready to examine in course of further negotiations the U.S. Government's views on this question.

The proposal of the U.S. Government and the proposal of the Soviet Government, as well as the views expressed by both Governments in the course of negotiations show that it has not yet been possible to harmonize the positions of the parties on a number of substantive questions. In the course of negotiations the Soviet Government insisted and continues to insist on the necessity for international agreements which would insure that atomic energy would not be permitted to be used for military purposes and would make its use possible only for peaceful purposes, for the good of mankind. The U.S. Government also states that it desires to cooperate in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy.

Inasmuch as reconciling positions of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union on this question has an important significance for the achievement of international agreement regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, the Soviet Government deems it desirable for both Governments to continue efforts to bring the positions of the parties closer together. One must not consider that the possibilities of making the positions of the parties agree have been exhausted, especially if one takes into account the fact that a number of concrete questions which arise, both in connection with the proposal of the Soviet Union and in connection with the proposal of the United States, have not yet been subjected to proper examination. Moreover, thorough examination of these questions could assist in further clarification of the possibilities of reaching an appropriate agreement.

In this connection the Soviet Government would consider it expedient to draw the attention of the U.S. Government to certain important principles which one must not overlook in considering the question on international cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Soviet Government proceeds from the principle that an important prerequisite to international agreement in this field is recognition that any such agreement should not place any one state or group of states in privileged position whereby this state or group of states could enforce its will on other states. This is particularly worthy of emphasis in connection with the U.S. Government's proposal having to do with structure and governing bodies of the International Agency.

Any International Organ created on the basis of an appropriate agreement between states can only successfully carry out its functions if its competence, sufficiently wide to permit it effectively to fulfill the tasks entrusted to it, is not at the same time utilized to the detriment of the security of some of the other states. It can answer its purpose only if its competence and tasks, as well as its practical activity, are in conformity with generally recognized principles of the charter of the United Nations.

The Soviet Government shares the opinion of the U.S. Government regarding the thesis that the appropriate International Organ would report concerning its activity

to the Security Council and the General Assembly. It goes without saying that when, in this connection, questions arise having to do with the security of some of the other states, necessary decisions must be taken specifically by the Security Council in accordance with its powers as the Organ on which is placed principal responsibility for the maintenance of peace and international security. This was recognized as early as January 1946 when the first decision of the United Nations concerning atomic problems was taken.

The Soviet Government taking into consideration the declaration of the Government of the U.S.A. concerning willingness at any time to renew the negotiations connected with the peaceful uses of atomic energy, for its part declares its willingness to continue these negotiations for the examination of the proposals of the Soviet Government as well as the proposals of the Government of the U.S.A.

In conclusion, the Soviet Government would like to know the opinion of the U.S. Government as to whether it is not desirable that all documents which have been mutually exchanged between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America during the course of the conversations which have taken place on the atomic problem should be published in the press of the Soviet Union as well as the press of the U.S.A. respectively in order that public opinion might be informed concerning the contents of these negotiations. In this connection the Soviet Government takes into consideration the fact that in the course of the conversations which have taken place between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., communications have appeared in the press which imprecisely elucidate certain questions concerning the position of the parties.

#### **LETTER FROM AMBASSADOR BOHLEN TO MR. GROMYKO, MOSCOW, SEPTEMBER 23**

DEAR MR. GROMYKO: I have the honor to refer to the aide-memoire which you handed to me on September 22 and to inform you that the United States Government is willing to publish all documents exchanged between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America regarding the proposal advanced by the President of the United States of America on December 8, 1953, with respect to the international use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. BOHLEN

### **Nine-Power Conference on European Security**

#### **STATEMENT BY SECRETARY DULLES**

Press release 530 dated September 25

I am now leaving to attend the nine-power conference in London. It has been called to consider

the serious situation resulting from the rejection of the plan for a European Defense Community. We shall explore new approaches to the difficult problems which the EDC plan was designed to solve.

The failure of EDC has raised doubt as to the validity of certain assumptions which have been at the very heart of the Atlantic security system. One such assumption is that the German Federal Republic will be associated with the family of free nations as a sovereign and equal partner and will make a material contribution to the common defense program. Another is that the nations of Western Europe will achieve a high degree of military, political, and economic unity among themselves.

Now the feasibility of the whole collective security program must be reexamined.

Most Americans have come to realize that it is no longer possible to turn back the clock and seek security through isolation. We also know that we cannot afford to gamble our safety and our survival on arrangements and programs that have no reasonable prospect of providing genuine security.

We are encouraged by the initiative taken by the Governments of the United Kingdom and France in developing new proposals. The United States believes that the primary responsibility for new proposals rests with the European States. Therefore, we take with us no specific proposals of our own. But we do go, to be helpful if we can.

#### **U.S. DELEGATION TO LONDON TALKS**

Press release 528 dated September 24

Following is the U.S. delegation to accompany Secretary Dulles to the nine-power talks opening in London on September 28:

##### *Assistant to Mr. Dulles*

Roderic L. O'Connor, Special Assistant to the Secretary

##### *Special advisers*

Winthrop W. Aldrich, Ambassador to Great Britain  
Robert R. Bowie, Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State

David K. E. Bruce, U.S. Representative to European Coal and Steel Community

James B. Conant, U.S. High Commissioner to Germany  
H. Struve Hensel, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

John C. Hughes, U.S. Permanent Representative on North Atlantic Council

Carl W. McCardle, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

Livingston T. Merchant, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs

October 4, 1954



*Press officer*

Henry Suydam, Chief, News Division, Department of State

*Advisers*

Col. Joseph C. Anderson, Deputy Chief, European Division, Office of Foreign Military Affairs, Department of Defense

Roger Ernst, Assistant for Plans and Coordination, European Division, Office of Foreign Military Affairs, Department of Defense

Russell Fessenden, Office of European Regional Affairs, Department of State

Charles D. Hilles, Hicog Representative, Bonn Working Group, Bonn

Coburn B. Kidd, Officer in Charge, German Political Affairs, Department of State

Edwin M. Martin, Director, Office of Political Affairs, U.S. Mission to NATO and European Regional Organizations, Paris

Ben T. Moore, Director, Office of European Regional Affairs, Department of State

John M. Raymond, Assistant Legal Adviser for German Affairs, Department of State

Jacques J. Reinstein, Special Assistant to Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Department of State

Col. Richard S. Silver, Military Assistant to Assistant Secretary Hensel, Department of Defense

William R. Tyler, Deputy Director, Office of Western European Affairs, Department of State

*Coordinator*

Arthur C. Nagle, Executive Secretariat, Department of State

*Secretary of delegation*

Donald B. Eddy, Senior Conference Officer, Office of International Conferences, Department of State

## **Anniversary of Death of Bulgarian Patriot**

### *Statement by Under Secretary Smith*

Press release 522 dated September 22

Seven years ago tomorrow Nikola Petkov was hanged by the Bulgarian Communist Government because he dared to oppose it. As the leader of the opposition, Petkov waged a courageous struggle for representative government, justice, and human liberties, but his voice was silenced in the traditional Communist manner. Since his death the forces against which he fought have gained full control in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Communist regime, by means of the judicial murder of Nikola Petkov, demonstrated once again its callous disregard for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It has continued to conduct itself in this manner, thereby not only violating the provisions of the Treaty of Peace but also the dictates of justice and humanity.

The American people and the other peoples in the free world have not forgotten Nikola Petkov.

His self-sacrifice remains an inspiring example to free men everywhere. To the millions of oppressed peoples behind the Iron Curtain Petkov is justly a symbol of determination that one day they will again have governments of their own choosing.

## **First U.S. Flood Relief Cargo Leaves for Austria**

The first U.S. relief cargo for victims of this summer's Danube River floods was scheduled to leave for Austria about September 14, according to an Foa announcement of September 8. The cargo, consisting of some 9,500 tons of corn for livestock feed, was to be loaded on the Liberty ship *Norcuba* of the North Atlantic & Gulf Steamship Company at Philadelphia. The ship is expected to reach Trieste the first week in October, where the corn will be delivered to the Austrian Government for shipment by rail to Austria.

This is the first shipment of 25,000 metric tons of corn, valued at \$1.9 million, to be sent to Austria under President Eisenhower's offer of agricultural commodities for European flood victims. The remainder of the 25,000 tons will follow in the near future. Needs of the other countries named by President Eisenhower in the U.S. offer—the Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia—are being surveyed by local authorities, Red Cross officials, and U.S. representatives.

After a survey of the flood areas, the Austrian Government found that corn was needed to help replace the feed grain and feed potatoes lost in the July floods. The 25,000 tons of corn not only will help Austrian farmers by fully replacing their feed crop losses but also will help to maintain the overall Austrian food supply at pre-flood levels.

President Eisenhower authorized the use of the corn for Austria under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. Title II of this act permits the President to grant surplus agricultural commodities from Commodity Credit Corporation stocks to friendly nations or populations in order to meet famine or other urgent relief requirements.

The Austrian Government has agreed to provide transportation for the 25,000 tons of corn from Trieste to Austria and to distribute it on an



equitable basis, according to crop losses and free of charge, to the flood victims. As specified by the U.S. legislation, the corn will be identified as a gift for the people of Austria from the people of the United States.

## **Iranian Message of Sympathy Concerning Hurricane Damage**

White House Office press release dated September 10

*The White House on September 10 made public the following exchange of cables between the President and the Shah of Iran.*

### **The President to the Shah**

YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY: Your Imperial Majesty's message of sympathy concerning the tragic loss of life and property which a hurricane recently inflicted on the northeastern coast of the United States has touched me deeply. It is further evidence of your humanitarian feelings which are so widely recognized. I appreciate your message and the spirit which inspired it, and I wish to take this occasion to assure you again of my admiration for the way you have led your nation through the difficulties of the past few years to the present point where a future full of opportunity is opening before you and your people.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

### **The Shah to the President**

MR. PRESIDENT: I was deeply distressed by the news of the tragic loss of life and property which the recent hurricane inflicted upon your nation. I would like to express to Your Excellency and to the noble people of the United States the heartfelt sympathy of myself and that of my people.

REZA SHAH PAHLAVI

## **Visit of President Tubman**

The Department of State announced on September 21 (press release 519) that arrangements are being completed for the visit of William V. S. Tubman, President of Liberia, and his party, who will visit Washington in October at the invitation of President Eisenhower. In extending the invitation in April this year, the President recalled

the traditional bonds of warm feeling which unite Liberia and the United States and emphasized the admiration of Americans for the achievements of Liberia and the role it plays in Africa.

His Excellency will arrive at Washington on October 18. After a state visit of 3 days in Washington, President Tubman expects to make an extended tour of about 3 weeks through the United States, which will take him to Baltimore, Akron, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, Atlanta, and New Orleans; he will then depart for Haiti.

The President plans to visit various educational institutions, including Howard University, Morgan State College, the University of Chicago, Lafayette College, Lincoln University, Atlanta University, Tuskegee Institute, and Langston University.

## **U.S.-French Talks on Indochina**

Press release 529 dated September 25

At the suggestion of the French Government, Guy La Chambre, Minister of State in Charge of Relations with the Associated States in the French Government, and General Paul Ely, French Commissioner General in Indochina, are coming to Washington to participate in conversations with officials of the U.S. Government which are expected to last from September 27 through September 29.

M. La Chambre and General Ely will take advantage of the presence in Washington of French Finance Minister Edgar Faure, who has arrived to take part in meetings of the Boards of Directors of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. M. Faure will join M. La Chambre and General Ely in their conversations with the U.S. Government.

These talks will be of an informal, exploratory nature and will concern matters primarily of mutual interest to the two Governments, particularly the status of U.S. financial assistance for the French Union forces in Indochina. Conversations will be held with high officials of the Departments of State and Defense and the Foreign Operations Administration.

The Governments of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam have been informed through their representatives in Washington of the purpose of these

talks and will continue to be kept informed. The means by which the U.S. Government can most effectively assist the three Associated States will be the subject of continuing consultations with their governments.

## U.S.-Pakistan Friendship

by *Horace A. Hildreth*  
*Ambassador to Pakistan*<sup>1</sup>

In Pakistan we have a young nation, seven years of age, born at a time of trouble and turmoil and inheriting so many difficult problems that many people did not expect it to survive as long as it already has survived. Pakistan has by no means solved all of its pressing and difficult problems, but with the passage of even a few years, it has assumed a position of leadership in one of the troubled and uncertain areas of the world.

Pakistan has definitely repudiated communism as being utterly unacceptable to the principles of the Moslem religion. . . . The Government of Pakistan has recently outlawed the Communist Party and imposed the same restrictions on the freedom of mobility of the Russian diplomatic representatives in Pakistan that Russia has imposed upon the freedom of mobility of the diplomatic corps in Moscow. This does not mean, however, that the Communists have given up their efforts in Pakistan.

Having rejected communism largely on religious grounds, Pakistan has definitely cast its lot with the West with a degree of courage and firmness that is heartening to the entire Western world. The leadership of Pakistan is devoted to sound Moslem principles and is willing and anxious to take full advantage of modern developments that have occurred in the Western world in all walks of life. But most important of all, despite the vicissitudes facing Pakistan, their "will to do" never diminishes. In a world where too many peoples seem incapable of making up their minds, it is indeed heartening to see this young nation facing so many problems and forging ahead with determination, courage, and an honest appraisal of the facts of life.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from an address made at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Mass., on Sept. 23 (press release 523 dated Sept. 22).

In addition to having cast its lot with the West, Pakistan is a firm friend of the United States, and the help that the United States has been able to give in the past and may be able to give in the future is not only appreciated but is helping to build a nation that is dedicated to the same principles for which the United States is working throughout the world.

## Death of Japanese Fisherman

*Statement by John M. Allison*  
*Ambassador to Japan*<sup>1</sup>

I have just been informed of the death of Mr. Aikichi Kuboyama, member of the crew of the *Fukuryu Maru*. I speak on behalf of the Government and people of the United States in expressing extreme sorrow and regret at this most unhappy event. My deepest sympathy is extended especially to the family of the deceased.

## Shipments to Hong Kong

Exporters now may ship more than 25 additional commodities to Hong Kong without applying for individual export licenses, the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, U.S. Department of Commerce, announced on September 16.

Items added to the list of nonstrategic commodities which may be exported under general license GHK without prior application to the Bureau include certain rubber gloves, boots and shoes; naval stores; dried fruits; pharmaceuticals; photographic, projection, and optical goods; and dental office and laboratory equipment.<sup>2</sup>

A detailed list of these additional items is published in the Bureau's Current Export Bulletin No. 737, dated September 16.

### Correction

BULLETIN of September 27, 1954, p. 434: In the text of the Bonn communique, the sixth line of the second paragraph should read "and the free world, should, in the view of the two."

<sup>1</sup> Issued at Tokyo on Sept. 23 (press release 524).

<sup>2</sup> For an announcement of previous additions to the list, see BULLETIN of Feb. 1, 1954, p. 157.

## U.S. Program for Return of Historic Objects to Countries of Origin, 1944-1954

by *Ardelia R. Hall*

The Department of State last month returned through the embassies at Washington important historic and artistic objects lost and displaced from their respective countries during World War II. The receiving governments, in turn, will arrange for the restoration of the items to the former owners. The objects have been recovered in the United States under the Government's postwar program for the restitution of cultural property. The most valuable of these objects entered the United States through trade channels.

All the objects returned at this time formerly belonged to state or municipal collections in Europe. They included Dutch archives of the Netherlands East Indies dating from 1767 to 1939; German archives of the 15th and 17th centuries, mainly from the town of Grebenstein in Hesse; English documents on parchment of the 17th century from London and Laxfield; a collection of 250 ancient seals, gems, and other objects from the Staatliche Münzsammlung (State Coin Collection) at Munich; 50 gold medals and coins from the historic collection of the Staatliche Kunstsammlung (State Art Collection) in the Schlossmuseum at Weimar; a banner from Aachen; a painting by the Dutch artist, Brekelenkam, from the Düsseldorf Kunstsammlung; a rare Würzburg missal of 1495 from the Mainfränkisches Museum at Würzburg; and, most important of all, a 10th-century codex or bound manuscript containing one surviving page of the Hildebrandslied from the Landesbibliothek (State Library) at Kassel and a 14th-century codex of "De Africa" by Petrarch, from the Biblioteca Civica of Trieste.

The Hildebrandslied (Song of Hildebrand) was an heroic poem in High German, written

about the year 800 A. D. The two surviving pages owned by the Kassel Library are among the most valuable manuscripts of world literature. The text was copied on parchment by the monks of Fulda. For over a thousand years these two parchment pages have survived. They were bound with a 10th-century manuscript on religious subjects, "Liber Sapientiae," where they were apparently reused as the end-pages of the later manuscript. The ancient poetry, written on the first page (*recto*) and the last page, or page 76 (*verso*), of the codex, is not only the oldest example of German poetry but also the oldest example of writing in the German language.

Unfortunately the bound manuscript which has now been found contains only the second page of the Hildebrandslied. The first page (see cut) had been removed from the manuscript and is missing. All efforts to trace the missing page have thus far been unsuccessful. It is, however, known that the first page was missing as early as November 1945, when the bound manuscript came into the possession of a New York dealer. Its removal from the codex is probably the greatest single loss to literature resulting from World War II.

### Manuscript Collection at Kassel

The library at Kassel lost all its books and printed materials in a bombing raid in September 1941. The manuscript collection was believed to have been saved. However, at the end of the war, two of the manuscripts—the Hildebrandslied Codex and the Willehalm Codex (see cut)—the two chief possessions of the library, were found to have been taken from the war repository. They had



been packed together in a small box and stored for safety in a bunker at Bad Wildungen in August 1943. The bunker was reported to have been carefully guarded until the last months of the war, when the custodians were displaced. The American Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officers were not immediately informed, when Allied troops entered the town, of the repository and its importance. In June 1945 the State Conservator of Greater Hesse reported to the American Military Government that the bunker had been entered and the two famous manuscripts were missing. At the time it could not be ascertained whether the box with the manuscripts had been removed by German civilians, displaced persons, or American troops.

The loss of these irreplaceable manuscripts became the subject of an extensive search in Germany. Dr. Theodore A. Heinrich, the American director of the Wiesbaden Central Collecting Point, made every effort to trace them. Now that the Hildebrandslied has been found in the United States, the United States Government will try to determine whether the missing page of the Hildebrandslied and the 14th-century Willehalm Manuscript were also brought to the United States. A description of the missing manuscripts is being publicized so that American institutions may be alerted to the loss. Should they be found in American possession, they may be turned over to the nearest public library with the request that arrangements be made for their safe transfer to the Department of State at Washington.

Descriptions of these two treasures of the Kassel Library have been published many times. The Hildebrandslied is to be found described in many books<sup>1</sup> and most encyclopedias, and the Willehalm manuscript is published in a large folio volume.<sup>2</sup>

#### **The Song of Hildebrand**

The missing page of the Hildebrandslied consists of 24 lines of the poem, written in Irish minuscule on parchment, 28.5 by 21 centimeters or 11 inches by 8¼ inches in size. There are three small holes in the right-hand margin and a large hole at the end of the last line.

The Song of Hildebrand recounts the story of Hildebrand and his son, who after many years of

separation meet and, without knowing each other, engage in combat. The poem breaks off with no indication of the outcome of the battle. There is an early Norse saga which refers to the Hildebrandslied and says that the son was killed, but in the later sagas the son is defeated and forced to recognize his father.

The two pages of the Hildebrandslied are the only surviving remnant of the many sagas and ballads of that early period. They were first kept in the cloister at Fulda and were presented to the Kassel Library early in the 19th century by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who first recognized the manuscript as a unique example of German poetry. The Grimms were distinguished scholars of Kassel. Their research in poetry and popular tale became the foundation of the science of folklore, and their works have been read throughout the world. In 1814 Jacob Grimm was sent to Paris to obtain the restitution of the valuable collections of books that Napoleon had carried off from Kassel.

#### **The Willehalm Manuscript**

The lost Willehalm Codex of Wolfram von Eschenbach is a bound manuscript of the 14th century, containing 396 folios and 62 miniatures. Thirty-three of the miniatures are completed, and the rest are partly finished. The manuscript is 41.5 by 29 centimeters or 16¼ inches by 11⅜ inches in size. The script is a fine, precise, pointed Gothic minuscule of a severe style.

The poem by Wolfram von Eschenbach in the missing Willehalm Codex relates the heroic deeds of the Christian knight, Willehalm. In one of the miniatures illustrating Willehalm's adventures, the hero is kneeling before Charlemagne, and in another he is seated before Tybalt, Arabele, and the three queens.

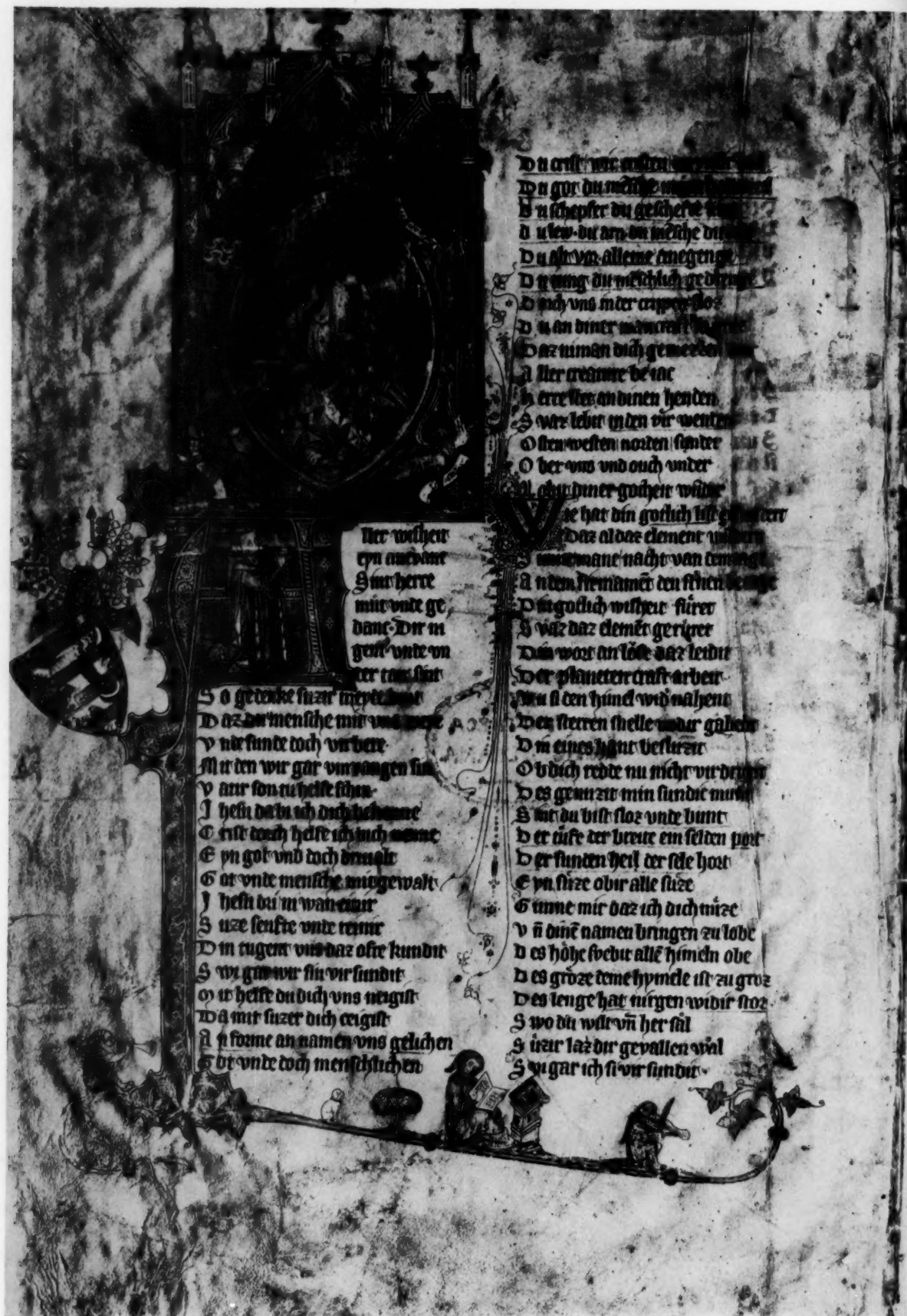
The illumination of the manuscript shows strong English influence and belongs to the Cologne school. The ornamental initial on the first page was executed with skill and versatility. Framed in a triple Gothic arch, Christ in Glory is bestowing His blessing; the Evangelists' symbols are at the corners. Below, the donor of the book, the Landgrave of Hesse, kneels in prayer; beside him is his coat of arms with the lion of Hesse. This is the oldest known colored representation of the arms, other than the 13th-century Landgrave

Footnotes at end of article.

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The missing page of the Hildebrandslied, written about 800 A. D.  
 Another page of the manuscript has been returned to the Landesbibliothek at Kassel, Germany.





First page of the missing Willehalm manuscript, dating from the 14th century. The manuscript contains 396 folios, many of them richly illuminated.

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escutcheons preserved in the Marburg Church of St. Elizabeth.

On the vine framing the page a monk is reading at a lectern, and there are charming, droll figures of rabbits and monkeys. The manuscript is dated by a Latin entry on folio 395 *verso*: "In the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and thirty-four, the illustrious Prince Henry, Landgrave and Lord of the Land of Hesse, had this written in honor of St. William Marchionis at his court; never to be transferred but to remain forever in the possession of his heirs."

The 14th-century manuscript of "De Africa," a Latin poem by Petrarch, was fully identified by the library of the city of Trieste and also was marked with the stamps of the famous Petrarch collection owned by the library. The manuscript was sent on September 20, 1954, to the United States Political Adviser to the Commander British-United States Zone, Free Territory of Trieste, to be restored to the municipal library on behalf of the United States Government.

#### Traditional Principles Upheld

The recovery of these manuscripts and of other rare books and objects of art dispersed during or following World War II has been a part of United States Government policy. The protection of cultural property and respect for its ownership are based upon the traditional principles upheld by the United States Government. These principles were incorporated in the General Orders No. 100 promulgated by President Lincoln and in all editions of the Rules of Land Warfare of the Department of the Army.

President Eisenhower, when he was Supreme Commander, Allied Powers Europe, during World War II, issued orders unrivaled in their firm expression of a determination to preserve the historic and cultural heritage of Europe. In a directive of May 26, 1944,<sup>3</sup> General Eisenhower stated:

Shortly we will be fighting our way across the continent of Europe in battles designed to preserve our civilization. Inevitably, in the path of our advance will be found historical monuments and cultural centers which symbolize to the world all that we are fighting to preserve.

It is the responsibility of every commander to protect and respect these symbols whenever possible.

A subsequent directive of November 9, 1944,<sup>4</sup> announced the policy of cultural restitution:

It is the policy of the Supreme Commander to take measures to facilitate the eventual restitution of works of art and objects of scientific or historical importance which may have been looted from United Nations governments or nationals. . . .

It is also the policy of the Supreme Commander to avoid, as far as military necessity will permit, damage to all structures, objects or documents of cultural, artistic, archaeological, or historical value; and to assist wherever practicable in securing them from deterioration upon the process of war. . . .

You will ensure that the prevention of looting, wanton damage and sacrilege of buildings by troops is the responsibility of all commanders and you will ensure that the seriousness of offenses of this kind is explained to all Allied personnel.

After the extent of the Nazi confiscations had become known, the Allied Powers issued a solemn warning in the London Declaration of January 5, 1943,<sup>5</sup> that they intended "to do their utmost to defeat the methods of dispossession practiced by the governments with which they are at war against the countries and peoples who have been so wantonly assaulted and despoiled." The Allied Powers reserved all rights to declare invalid such transfers of property. It was specifically stated that works of art were included. Concerted efforts to rectify the injustices were sought at international conferences<sup>6</sup> and through inter-Allied agreements.<sup>7</sup>

The Allied war agencies concerned with the protection of the international cultural heritage had long but informative names. In the United States the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas was established on August 20, 1943, under Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts and David E. Finley, Director of the National Gallery of Art. The British Committee on the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives and other Material in Enemy Hands was set up by Prime Minister Churchill on May 9, 1944.

#### Objects Appearing in U.S.

The problem of looted and displaced works of art appearing in the United States was first brought to the attention of the American Commission in September 1944 on behalf of Cardinal Spellman, who was one of the members of the American Commission.<sup>8</sup>

Following World War II, the State-War-Navy

Coordinating Committee approved a government policy,<sup>9</sup> which states:

The introduction of looted objects of art into this country is contrary to the general policy of the United States and to the commitments of the United States under the Hague Convention of 1907 and in the case of objects of a value of \$5,000 or more is a contravention of Federal law. It is incumbent on this Government, therefore, to exert every reasonable effort to right such wrongs as may be brought to light.

The effective protection of works of art begun under General Eisenhower's directives, carried out by the Allied armies and military governments, and completed by the Allied High Commissioners in Austria and Germany prevented the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of objects and greatly minimized the problem of recovery. The number of dispersed objects of cultural importance which have been found in the United States is relatively small compared with the millions of objects of art, books, and archives from over 2,000 repositories which were taken into the custody of the U.S. Military Government in the American Zone of Germany alone.<sup>10</sup>

A review of the works of art and other objects of cultural value which have been recovered in the United States in the 10-year period since the program was initiated in September 1944 shows that between 1944 and 1954 a total of 66 cases involving 1,586 objects have been brought to the attention of the Department of State. Of this total, 40 cases have been concluded and 1,194 objects recovered and transferred through diplomatic channels to the rightful owners.<sup>11</sup> In the 11 cases completed in September, 360 objects were transferred to the embassies in Washington. There are 15 cases currently under investigation involving 32 objects and 2 collections. When these are completed, all missing objects which are known to have appeared in the United States and have come to the attention of the Government will have been recovered.

The success of the recovery program is due to the generous response of American educational and cultural institutions and to the unfailing support of the Government agencies in Washington. The Bureau of Customs of the Treasury Department has been most efficient in handling cases involving violations of United States customs laws. Shirley Stephens, the head of enforcement in the Bureau of Customs, has been directly responsible for the continued effectiveness of the program. Mr. Stephens was consulted by the American Com-

mission in 1944, when the matter was first under consideration, and he has taken a direct part in every case that has been under investigation by the Bureau of Customs since that date.

The advice and assistance of officers of the Department of Justice, including Julian D. Simpson, Harold P. Shapiro, and John Murphy, have been invaluable to the solution of the most difficult cases.

Special acknowledgment should also be made to Mr. Finley, Director of the National Gallery, for his contribution to the work of the American Commission and for his cooperation with the Department of State in taking temporary custody of the objects when they are received in Washington.

The following American institutions are among the many that have also given invaluable assistance and expert advice about the objects: the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, the Freer Gallery of Art, the National Gallery of Art, the Los Angeles County Museum, the University of Florida, the Art Institute of Chicago, the John Herron Art Institute of Indianapolis, the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, the Fogg Museum of Art and the Busch-Reisinger Museum of Harvard University, the Detroit Institute of Arts, the Palace of the Legion of Honor Museum of San Francisco, the Duluth (Minnesota) Public Library, the Columbus (Ohio) Public Library, the Princeton University Library, the New York Public Library, the Frick Art Reference Library, the Morgan Library, the Cornell University Library, the Syracuse University Library, the Numismatic Society of New York, the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, the Frick Collection, the New York Historical Society, the University of Pennsylvania Library, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Rhode Island School of Design, the Museum of Williams College, the Museum of Houston (Texas), and Lawrence College.

#### **Response to Recovery Program**

Directors of these institutions have made the following comments upon the Government program:

This museum has been instrumental in uncovering several items belonging to European museums during the past 3 years. We are most anxious to cooperate with the return of these objects, as part of the reciprocal activities of the major museums. . . .



I am glad to see from your letter and the statements attached to it [on return of looted objects] that the attitude of the Government is exactly as we felt it would be. . . .

I very much hope that you will be able to receive the objects and return them to the institutions from which they were mistakenly taken. In conclusion, let me applaud the effort which you are making to right this kind of wrong. . . .

I am delighted that machinery has been set up whereby this kind of property can be restored to its rightful owners. Such conduct makes me proud to be an American citizen. . . .

The membership of the College Art Association of America empowered its executive committee to express approval of the Government's efforts in behalf of the restitution to rightful owners of works of art, which was described as "a cultural enterprise without historical precedent."

When the objects have been transferred to the recipient governments, the return has brought many expressions of gratitude. The French Government, on the recovery of a painting looted in Paris from a famous Jewish collection in 1941, expressed its appreciation to the Department of State and also sent a letter of thanks to the museum which had assisted in the return.

The director of the Berlin Hauptarchiv, when he heard that a rare manuscript had been recovered, wrote, "Seldom has a letter caused so much joy as yours of the 24th of June concerning the return of the Testament of Frederick the Great. For your very good news we beg to express our sincerest thanks." On the occasion of the formal opening of the Johannes Gutenberg Celebration at Mainz, Germany, on June 24, 1950, the Mayor of Mainz spoke of the appreciation of his city for the efforts of the United States Government in returning the 500-year-old Mainz Psalter to Germany and in consenting to the exhibition of the famous and precious book in Mainz for the duration of the commemoration. An official of the German Foreign Office at a ceremony marking the return of several works of art said, "It is with the greatest satisfaction and sincere gratitude that I accept on behalf of the Federal Government these treasures which are returned to us as former German properties. They will be given to their legitimate owners or their successors as soon as possible. We all have had the very satisfactory experience during and after the war that there are men of good will in every

country on earth, who—unaffected by the passions of the moment—strive toward the realization of higher ideals and toward justice."

Italian Government officials have expressed their gratitude for the assistance of the United States authorities in the recovery of works of art. In the case of the restitution to the Biblioteca Civica of Trieste of the 14th century Petrarch manuscript, the Italian Ambassador expressed "his warmest gratitude and deep appreciation of the assistance offered by the American authorities in the recovery of the masterpiece."

A Polish representative, on receiving two paintings belonging to the State Collection at Warsaw, wrote, "May I express to you my sincerest thanks for your kind cooperation and help in the recovery of the paintings by Cornelis van Poelenburgh and Quiryn Gerrits van Brekelenkam."

Most of the historic and artistic objects which have been recovered in the United States were lost from state museums, libraries, or archives or from churches. All of the relatively few works of art of private ownership which have appeared were confiscated by the Nazis from Jewish collectors, who were the chief victims of Nazi plundering in Western Europe.

By the restoration of these looted objects to their former Jewish owners, a grievous wrong has been righted. And by returning the dispersed objects which had passed from public collections in Europe to private hands in the United States, the U.S. Government has performed a great public service. It is a service not only to the nations which have regained precious symbols of their cultural heritage but also to all lovers of art and literature, who will find these valuable objects once more available to the public.

#### Footnotes

1. Guilelmus Grimm, *De Hildebrando* (Gottingae, 1830); Wilhelm Hopf, *Die Landesbibliothek Kassel, 1580-1930* (Marburg, 1930), pp. 31, 32; *Das Hildebrandslied* (Kassel, 1937) etc.

2. Robert Freyham, *Die Illustrationen zum Casseler Willehalm Codex*; Wilhelm Hopf, *loc. cit.*, pp. 99-102.

3. *Report of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, 1946* (Washington, 1946), p. 102.

4. *The Museum News*, Jan. 1, 1945.

5. BULLETIN of Jan. 9, 1943, p. 21; *United States Economic Policy Toward Germany*, Department of State publication 2630, p. 52.

6. *United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference*, Department of State publication 2187; *Inter-American*



Conference on Problems of War and Peace, Department of State publication 2497.

7. BULLETIN of Aug. 27, 1951, Appendix 1, p. 340.

8. Report of the American Commission . . . , p. 23.

9. BULLETIN of Feb. 23, 1947, p. 358.

10. Articles published in the *Information Bulletin* of the Office of U.S. High Commissioner for Germany dealing with the restitution of art in the U.S. Zone of Germany include:

"Recovery and Protection of Art Treasures," Aug. 4, 1935;

"Back from the Salt Mines," Nov. 3, 1945;

"Operation 'Lost and Found,'" July 1, 1946;

"Restitution Program Reviewed," Oct. 28, 1946;

"Restitution," March 3, 1947;

"Silver Train to Hungary," May 26, 1947;

"Germany Makes Restitution," June 1950.

11. Articles dealing with the recovery of war-dispersed art in the United States include:

"Rare Mainz Psalter of 1457, Looted, Returned to U.S. Zone in Germany," BULLETIN of Mar. 27, 1950, p. 487;  
"Mainz Psalter Returned," *Information Bulletin*, June 1950.

"Mainz Exhibiting Treasured Psalter," BULLETIN of Aug. 28, 1950, p. 349.

"Recovery of Lost European Treasures," Department of State *Record*, May-June 1951, p. 39.

"The Recovery of Cultural Objects Dispersed During World War II," BULLETIN of Aug. 27, 1951, p. 337.

"Cultural Articles Returned," *Information Bulletin*, July 1952.

"Royal Treasures Returned to Ryukyu Islands," BULLETIN of June 8, 1953, p. 819.

• Miss Hall, author of the above article, is Art and Monuments Adviser, Department of State.

## Administration of Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954

White House Office press release dated September 9

### WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President on September 9 issued an Executive order providing for the administration of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

Under that act agricultural surplus commodities, aggregating \$700 million in value, may be sold abroad for local currencies over a period of 3 years, and such commodities, up to \$300 million in value, may be given to friendly peoples in the event of national disaster or famine.

The Executive order assigns to the Secretary of Agriculture primary responsibility for sales under the act, including the development of overseas markets for agricultural commodities, and assigns primary responsibility for the grants for famine relief to the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration.

A number of other Federal agencies will participate in the administration of these activities. In order that their activities may be properly coordinated, the President has established an in-

teragency advisory committee which will be headed by a representative of the White House Office.

The Executive order provides that the local currency proceeds of overseas sales of agricultural commodities under the act shall be held in the custody of the Treasury Department and shall be released by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget for use in connection with the purposes authorized by the act. Those purposes are: (1) the development of new markets for United States agricultural commodities; (2) the acquisition of strategic and critical materials; (3) the procurement of military equipment, materials, and facilities; (4) the purchase of goods or services for other friendly countries; (5) the promotion of balanced economic development and trade among nations; (6) the payment of U.S. obligations abroad; (7) the promotion of multilateral trade and economic development; and (8) international educational exchange activities.

The Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 provides a supplementary means of dealing with existing stocks of agricultural products with primary emphasis upon the

objective of reducing surplus crops through overseas marketing. The statute provides that private trade channels shall be used to the maximum extent possible, that marketings under the act shall not interfere with usual U.S. marketings or disrupt world prices, and that activities under the act shall be carried on so as to further U.S. objectives abroad.

In his message to the Congress in January of this year on the subject of agriculture<sup>1</sup> the President stated that our food stocks can be used for constructive purposes that will benefit the people of the United States and our friends abroad. With effective administration, mobilizing the total resources of Government and private channels, substantial strides will be made in achieving this goal.

The President, in connection with the Executive order, issued an important policy statement concerning foreign trade as related to agriculture. The statement, representing the work of an interdepartmental committee under the chairmanship of Clarence Francis, special consultant to the President, was approved by the President on September 9.

#### TEXT OF POLICY STATEMENT

The general foreign economic and trade policy set forth in the President's message to Congress of March 30, 1954,<sup>2</sup> is applicable to and in the general interest of American agriculture. United States farm programs, both short-run and long-run, should be consistent with this policy.

United States agriculture, as well as other segments of the economy, stands to gain from such a sustained policy of expanding world trade, based upon the most productive use in each country of the available labor, natural resources, and capital. Therefore, it is in the long-run interest of the American farmer, as well as all Americans, for this country to work with other nations in a mutual effort to expand international trade, and to promote the fuller convertibility of currencies, the freer movement of investment capital, and the interchange of technical and scientific information.

Today, the United States agricultural situation is complicated by two factors on the domestic

front: (1) prices of many farm products are not competitive with world prices; and (2) production of certain farm products is badly out of balance with demand, thus creating rapidly mounting surplus stocks which overhang and tend to unsettle both domestic and foreign markets. Both of these factors promise to remain operative for some time. It therefore becomes necessary to reckon with them in any formulation of an agricultural foreign trade policy for the United States.

Consistent with the principles set forth in the President's message of March 30, 1954, it is essential that our agricultural foreign trade policy take into account the position of other countries and that our policy be understood by them.

Today, the magnitude of the U.S. holdings of many commodities is such as to be capable of demoralizing world commodity markets should a policy of reckless selling abroad be pursued. This potential greatly alarms other countries despite the fact that past behavior of the United States has shown no intention of pursuing a harmful policy.

At the same time, the United States cannot accept the role of limiting its sales in world markets until other countries have disposed of their production. The adjustment of world supply to world demand will require adjustments of production in other countries, as well as the United States.

The capacity of certain areas of the world to produce food and fiber in excess of current market takings presents a basis and a hope for improving living standards around the world—provided ways can be found for improving marketing and distribution systems and enlarging the purchasing power of consumers. This represents a challenge to the nations of the world to develop sound means for utilizing their productive capacity in the improvement of living standards.

1. The world supply and demand situation in agricultural products requires, in the interest of the general welfare, an orderly and gradual liquidation of our surpluses. Such a policy, arrived at with the full knowledge of friendly nations, would go far to eliminate fear arising from uncertainty.

2. The United States cannot be satisfied with the position of holding its own supplies off the market and accumulating surpluses while other countries dispose of their entire production. Ac-

<sup>1</sup>H. Doc. 292, 83d Cong., 2d sess., transmitted Jan. 11, 1954.

<sup>2</sup>BULLETIN of Apr. 19, 1954, p. 602.

cordingly, the United States will offer its products at competitive prices. At the same time, the United States will not use its agricultural surpluses to impair the traditional competitive position of friendly countries by disrupting world prices of agricultural commodities.

3. The United States will seek in cooperation with friendly countries to utilize its agricultural surpluses to increase consumption in those areas where there is demonstrable underconsumption and where practical opportunities for increased consumption exist or can be developed in a constructive manner. The United States will attempt to utilize such opportunities in a manner designed to stimulate economic development in friendly countries and to strengthen their security position.

4. The United States recognizes that the movement of goods in foreign trade is dependent upon the enterprise of private business—foreign and domestic. In implementing these policies with respect to agricultural commodities, the U. S. Government will seek to assure conditions of commerce permitting the private trader to function effectively.

#### LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO CLARENCE FRANCIS

DEAR MR. FRANCIS: The Executive order which I have issued today establishing administrative arrangements for the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 provides, as you know, for an Interagency Committee on Agricultural Surplus Disposal with a representative of the White House Office as Chairman.

I request you to assume responsibility for organizing this Committee and to serve as its Chairman. I shall look to you for advice concerning policy issues that may develop.

In connection with the work of your Committee I shall expect you to be guided by the policy statement concerning foreign trade as related to agriculture which I have approved and issued today. I regard this document as an important announcement of the philosophy of this Administration with respect to agricultural foreign economic policy. It should generate confidence both at home and abroad as to our purposes in this vital area of international economic relations.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

#### LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO AGENCY HEADS<sup>1</sup>

I have today issued an Executive order providing for the administration of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. It is the purpose of this letter to further define relationships among the several agencies of the executive branch which will have key responsibilities in assuring successful administration of this program.

The act provides for the use of surplus commodities to further many of our existing domestic and foreign programs, and in some instances, it expands or liberalizes them. These programs are currently carried on by many agencies of the Government. Accordingly, it is desirable to place the administration of the new act in those agencies and to make it possible for them to make their proper contribution in connection with the disposition of agricultural surpluses.

The very fact that a number of agencies have a responsibility in one or another aspect of surplus disposition makes effective coordination absolutely essential. It is therefore directed that a committee, to be known as "The Interagency Committee on Agricultural Surplus Disposal," be established to assist the agencies concerned in bringing into harmonious action, consistent with the over-all policy objectives of this Government, the various agricultural surplus disposal activities vested in them by, or assigned to them pursuant to, the Act. The Committee should be composed of a representative of the White House Office, as chairman, and one representative of each Government department and agency which is, consonant with law, designated by the Chairman to have representation on the committee. I shall look to the Chairman to advise me concerning policy issues which arise. I shall expect the Secretary of Agriculture to assure the effective coordination of day-to-day operations through appropriate interagency relationships.

The following arrangements are prescribed in

<sup>1</sup> Sent on Sept. 9 to the following: the Secretary of Agriculture, the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Secretary of the Treasury, Clarence Francis, Special Consultant to the President, the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, the Administrator of General Services, and the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.



order to facilitate the best administration of the Act:

1. Existing pertinent interagency coordination arrangements are to be followed.

2. This program must be carried out in accordance with and in furtherance of our foreign policy objectives. I wish to reemphasize that the Secretary of State is the officer responsible for advising and assisting me in the formulation and control of foreign policy. I look to him as the channel of authority within the executive branch on foreign policy as I do to the Secretaries of Defense and Treasury in their respective fields.

3. The delegation to the State Department of responsibility for negotiations with foreign governments is intended to give recognition to State Department's central responsibility in this area. Other agencies directly concerned with the substance of the negotiation, however, must continue to carry substantial responsibility in such negotiations. Moreover, it is assumed that these other agencies will conduct day-to-day discussions with representatives of the foreign governments in implementing basic agreements reached with such governments. Such discussions, of course, must be in conformance with the foreign policy responsibilities of the State Department and the chiefs of our diplomatic missions.

4. It is imperative that we continue to coordinate United States programs affecting other nations. For this reason, the accompanying Executive order makes this program subject to my previous instructions with respect to coordination of United States activities in foreign countries. Under those instructions, the chief of the diplomatic mission is the principal officer of the United States in each country and has full responsibility and authority for assuring effective action in that country.

5. In order to coordinate most effectively the various agricultural surplus disposal programs abroad, I shall expect the Secretary of Agriculture to utilize to the maximum extent practicable the facilities, services and experience of the Foreign Operations Administration.

6. I am requesting the Secretary of Commerce to provide the focal point in the Government for assisting private enterprise with respect to barter transactions referred to in the act. This arrangement would be one more step toward assuring the maximum utilization of private channels in the execution of this program.

7. It is contemplated that the Office of Defense Mobilization shall utilize the facilities and services of the General Services Administration for the purchase and handling of materials under section 104(b) of the act.

In January of this year, I stated in my message on Agriculture that surplus agricultural stocks can be used for constructive purposes that will benefit

the people of the United States and our friends abroad. Enactment of this legislation is a major step forward in achieving that broad objective. With effective administration, mobilizing the total resources of Government and private channels of trade, we should make substantial strides towards achieving the above goals.

I have forwarded an identical letter to the other officers of the Government principally concerned with carrying out the Executive order.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

#### EXECUTIVE ORDER 10560<sup>4</sup>

##### ADMINISTRATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL TRADE DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1954

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code (65 Stat. 713) and as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

Section 1. *Department of Agriculture.* Except as otherwise provided in this order, the functions conferred upon the President by Title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 are hereby delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Section 2. *Foreign Operations Administration.* The functions conferred upon the President by Title II of the Act are hereby delegated to the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration.

Section 3. *Department of State.* (a) The functions of negotiating and entering into agreements with friendly nations or organizations of friendly nations conferred upon the President by the Act are hereby delegated to the Secretary of State.

(b) All functions under the Act, however vested, delegated, or assigned, shall be subject to the responsibilities of the Secretary of State with respect to the foreign policy of the United States as such policy relates to the said functions.

(c) The provisions of Part III of Executive Order No. 10476 of August 1, 1953 (18 F. R. 4537, ff.),<sup>5</sup> are hereby extended and made applicable to functions provided for in the Act and to United States agencies and personnel concerned with the administration abroad of the said functions.

Section 4. *Foreign currencies.* (a) There are hereby delegated to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (1) so much of the functions conferred upon the President by the Act as consists of fixing from time to time the amounts of foreign currencies which accrue under Title I of the Act to be used for each of the several purposes described in paragraphs (a) to (h), inclusive, of section 104 of the Act, and (2) the function conferred upon the President by the last proviso in section 104 of the Act of waiv-

<sup>4</sup> 19 Fed. Reg. 5927.

<sup>5</sup> BULLETIN of Aug. 24, 1953, p. 240.

ing the applicability of section 1415 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1953.

(b) The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to prescribe regulations governing the purchase, custody, deposit, transfer, and sale of foreign currencies received under the Act.

(c) The foregoing provisions of this section shall not limit section 3 of this order and the foregoing subsection (b) shall not limit subsection (a) above.

(d) Purposes described in the lettered paragraphs of section 104 of the Act shall be carried out, with foreign currencies made available pursuant to section 4 (a) of this order, as follows:

(1) Those under section 104 (a) of the Act by the Department of Agriculture.

(2) Those under section 104 (b) of the Act by the Office of Defense Mobilization. The function, conferred upon the President by that section, of determining from time to time materials to be purchased or contracted for for a supplemental stockpile is hereby delegated to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

(3) Those under section 104 (c) of the Act by the Department of Defense.

(4) Those under sections 104 (d), (e), and (g) of the Act by the Foreign Operations Administration. The

function, conferred upon the President by section 104 (g) of the Act, of determining the manner in which the loan provided for in the said section 104 (g) shall be made is hereby delegated to the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration.

(5) Those under section 104 (f) of the Act by the respective agencies of the Government having authority to pay United States obligations abroad.

(6) Those under section 104 (h) of the Act by the Department of State.

Section 5. *Reports to Congress.* The functions under section 108 of the Act, with respect to making reports to Congress, are reserved to the President.

Section 6. *Definition.* As used in this order the term "the Act" means the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480, approved July 11, 1954, 68 Stat. 454) and includes, except as may be appropriate, the provisions thereof amending other laws.

*Dwight D. Eisenhower*

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
September 9, 1954.

## Sweden Removes Import License Requirements on Some Items

Press release 533 dated September 25

*The following joint statement of the Departments of Commerce and State was released on September 25:*

The U.S. Government notes with satisfaction the Swedish Government's decision to liberalize its dollar trade effective October 1, by removing import license requirements from a large number of commodities which until now have been subject to tight licensing and foreign exchange control. This free list covers about 45 percent of total Swedish imports in 1953.

Simultaneously, the Swedish Government announced that goods which are not on this free list but are free-listed for Western European and certain other countries (OEEC<sup>1</sup> free list) will be imported from the dollar area in greater quantities, either directly from the dollar area or indirectly from those non-dollar areas. The Swedish Government also announced that it will continue

to investigate the possibility of adding other items to the dollar free list.

While all details are not yet available, it is understood that the dollar free list is composed of raw materials, semimanufactures, and a large number of finished goods. Included in the list among other items are almost all chemical products, all hides and skins, rubber products, wood goods, all paper other than newsprint, textile raw materials, yarn, cord fabrics, shoes, hats, and stone, clay, and glass products of various kinds.

Extensive free-listing is also applicable to engineering products. All manufactures of iron and metal, the greater part of iron and steel products, and all machines, apparatus, and instruments, with the exception of cameras, projectors, and musical instruments, are free-listed. Also included are equipment for railways, streetcars, motorcycles, and bicycles. In the field of foodstuffs, imports are free-listed among others for dried fruits and raisins, rice, canned fish and canned fruits, juices, and a number of other products. Finally, the list includes raw materials for plastics and a large number of products of less importance such as small boxes, handbags, fishing tackle, tobacco pipes, fountain pens, and many

<sup>1</sup> Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

other consumer goods. It is important to note that the free list includes a great majority of the commodities on which Sweden granted tariff concessions to the United States under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Such details as are now available can be obtained from the European Division, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C., and from all field offices of the Department of Commerce, which will also have the information on additional details to be released later by the Swedish Government.

In announcing these actions, the Swedish Gov-

ernment referred to the discussions which have lately taken place in Western Europe on the problem of attaining a more general system of currency convertibility. Sweden thus joins a number of other Western European countries in efforts to improve productivity and reduce costs and prices by increased competition. This voluntary action by the Swedish Government is commendable not only as an aid to expanded dollar trade with Europe, which the United States Government values highly, but also as another example of constructive policy by countries whose financial positions permit measures in the direction of freer trade.

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### Calendar of Meetings<sup>1</sup>

#### Adjourned During September 1954

XXVII Art Biennale . . . . .	Venice . . . . .	June-Sept. 30
XV International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art . . . . .	Venice . . . . .	July 6-Sept. 7
UNESCO International Seminar on Adult Education in Rural Areas . . . . .	Denmark . . . . .	Aug. 14-Sept. 4
U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: 5th Session.	New York . . . . .	Aug. 20-Sept. 13
8th Edinburgh Film Festival . . . . .	Edinburgh . . . . .	Aug. 22-Sept. 12
International Scientific Radio Union: 11th General Assembly . . . . .	The Hague . . . . .	Aug. 23-Sept. 2
Congress of the Life-Saving Federation . . . . .	Algiers . . . . .	Aug. 24-Sept. 5
Wmo Executive Committee: 5th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Aug. 25-Sept. 11
Interparliamentary Union: 43d Conference . . . . .	Vienna . . . . .	Aug. 27-Sept. 2
UNESCO Regional Seminar on the Arts and Crafts in General Education and Community Life.	Tokyo . . . . .	Aug. 28-Sept. 25
U.N. World Conference on Population . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Aug. 31-Sept. 10
International Mathematical Union: 2d General Assembly . . . . .	The Hague . . . . .	Aug. 31-Sept. 1
International Electrotechnical Commission: 50th Anniversary Meeting.	Philadelphia . . . . .	Sept. 1-16
International Society of Cell Biology: 8th International Congress . . . . .	Leiden . . . . .	Sept. 1-7
Fao Third Regional Meeting on Food and Agricultural Programs and Outlook in Latin America.	Buenos Aires . . . . .	Sept. 1-10
First International Congress and Second International Seminar on Vocational Guidance.	Bonn . . . . .	Sept. 1-15
10th International Congress of Mathematicians . . . . .	Amsterdam . . . . .	Sept. 2-9
Southeast Asia Collective Defense Conference . . . . .	Manila . . . . .	Sept. 6-8
International Sugar Council: Executive Committee Meeting . . . . .	London . . . . .	Sept. 6-10
ICAO Legal Committee: 10th Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 7-28*
International Sugar Council: Statistical Committee Meeting . . . . .	London . . . . .	Sept. 7-10
International Sugar Council: 1st Meeting of 2d Session . . . . .	London . . . . .	Sept. 8-10
ITU International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR): Study Group IX	Geneva . . . . .	Sept. 10-22
Who Regional Committee for the Western Pacific: 5th Session . . . . .	Manila . . . . .	Sept. 10-16
27th International Congress of Industrial Chemistry . . . . .	Brussels . . . . .	Sept. 11-19

<sup>1</sup> Prepared in the Office of International Conferences Sept. 24, 1954. Asterisks indicate tentative dates. Following is a list of abbreviations: UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; U.N., United Nations; Wmo, World Meteorological Organization; Fao, Food and Agriculture Organization; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; CCIR, International Radio Consultative Committee (Comité consultatif internationale des radio communications); Who, World Health Organization; Pasa, Pan American Sanitary Organization; ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; ILO, International Labor Organization; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; ICEM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization.



## Calendar of Meetings—Continued

### Adjourned During September 1954—Continued

FAO Meeting on Desert Locust Control . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Sept. 13-17
International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics: 10th General Assembly . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Sept. 14-29
International Technical Committee for the Prevention and Extinguishing of Fire: Meeting of Permanent Council . . . . .	Rouen . . . . .	Sept. 16-19
International Federation for Documentation: 21st Conference . . . . .	Belgrade . . . . .	Sept. 19-26
FAO Committee on Commodity Problems: 24th Session . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Sept. 20-25
IX International Exposition of Preserved Foodstuffs and Packing . . . . .	Parma (Italy) . . . . .	Sept. 20-30
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Monetary Fund: 9th Annual Meeting of Boards of Governors . . . . .	Washington . . . . .	Sept. 24-29

### In Session as of September 30, 1954

International Exposition and Trade Fair . . . . .	São Paulo . . . . .	Aug. 21-
UNESCO International Seminar for Museum Staff and Educators . . . . .	Athens . . . . .	Sept. 12-
Consultative Committee for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia ("Colombo Plan"): Officials Meeting . . . . .	Ottawa . . . . .	Sept. 20-
ICAO Air Navigation Commission: 17th Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 21-
U.N. General Assembly: 9th Regular Session . . . . .	New York . . . . .	Sept. 21-
ICAO Air Transport Committee: 23d Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 27-
FAO Council: 20th Session . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Sept. 27-
ICAO Council: 23d Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Sept. 28-
Nine-Power Conference . . . . .	London . . . . .	Sept. 28-

### Scheduled October 1–December 31, 1954

International Congress of Chronometry . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Oct. 1-
International Philatelic and Postal Exhibition . . . . .	New Delhi . . . . .	Oct. 1-
Consultative Committee for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia ("Colombo Plan"): Ministerial Meeting . . . . .	Ottawa . . . . .	Oct. 4-
FAO Working Party on Fertilizers: 4th Meeting . . . . .	Tokyo . . . . .	Oct. 4-
FAO Working Party on Rice Breeding: 5th Meeting . . . . .	Tokyo . . . . .	Oct. 4-
PASO Executive Committee: 23d Meeting . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Oct. 4-
International Council for the Exploration of the Sea: 42d Annual Meeting . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Oct. 4-
ITU International Telephone Consultative Committee: XVII Plenary Assembly . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 4-
ICAO North Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting: 3d Session . . . . .	Montreal . . . . .	Oct. 5-
10th General Conference on Weights and Measures . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Oct. 5-
UNESCO Seminar for Leaders of Youth Movements . . . . .	Habana . . . . .	Oct. 5-
Caribbean Commission - UNESCO Joint Conference on Education and Small-Scale Farming in Relation to Community Development . . . . .	Port-au-Spain . . . . .	Oct. 6-
2d International Meeting of Communications . . . . .	Genoa . . . . .	Oct. 6-
U.N. ECAFE Subcommittee on Electric Power: 4th Session . . . . .	Tokyo . . . . .	Oct. 6-
PASO 14th Pan American Sanitary Conference and 6th Meeting of the Regional Committee of Who . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Oct. 7-
General Assembly of the International Commission of Criminal Police: 23d Session . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Oct. 9-
FAO International Rice Commission: 4th Session . . . . .	Tokyo . . . . .	Oct. 11-
ILO Iron and Steel Committee: 5th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 11-
South Pacific Commission: 13th Session . . . . .	Nouméa (New Caledonia) . . . . .	Oct. 11-
International Wheat Council: 16th Session . . . . .	London . . . . .	Oct. 12-
U.N. ECAFE Railway Subcommittee: 3d Session and Working Party on Prevention and Speedy Disposal of Claims . . . . .	Tokyo . . . . .	Oct. 13-
Southeast Asia Communications Coordinating Meeting . . . . .	Bangkok . . . . .	Oct. 18-
PASO Executive Committee: 24th Meeting . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Oct. 22-
International North Pacific Fisheries Commission: 2d Meeting . . . . .	Vancouver . . . . .	Oct. 25-
ILO Metal Trades Committee: 5th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 25-
U.N. ECAFE Working Party of Experts on the Aspects of Economic Development Programs . . . . .	Bangkok . . . . .	Oct. 25-
GATT Ad Hoc Committee for Agenda and Intersessional Business . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 26-
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade: 9th Session of Contracting Parties . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Oct. 28-
International Exposition in Bogotá . . . . .	Bogotá . . . . .	Oct. 29-
UNESCO Executive Board . . . . .	Rio de Janeiro . . . . .	Oct. 31-
U.N. ECAFE Ad Hoc Working Party of Senior Geologists on the Preparations of a Regional Geological Map for Asia and the Far East . . . . .	Bangkok . . . . .	Nov. 1-
UNESCO Budget Committee . . . . .	Montevideo . . . . .	Nov. 1-
UNESCO Executive Board . . . . .	Montevideo . . . . .	Nov. 1-
FAO European Forestry Commission and Working Party on Afforestation . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 3-
14th International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy . . . . .	Luxembourg . . . . .	Nov. 7-

## Calendar of Meetings—Continued

Scheduled October 1–December 31, 1954—Continued

International Philatelic Exposition . . . . .	São Paulo . . . . .	Nov. 7–
FAO 3d Inter-American Meeting on Livestock Production . . . . .	Buenos Aires . . . . .	Nov. 8–
ILO Governing Body: 127th Session . . . . .	Rome . . . . .	Nov. 8–
U.N. ECAFE Mineral Resources Subcommittee: 1st Session . . . . .	Bangkok . . . . .	Nov. 8–
FAO Meeting on Economic Aspects of the Rice Situation . . . . .	Rangoon . . . . .	Nov. 11–
UNESCO General Conference: 8th Session . . . . .	Montevideo . . . . .	Nov. 12–
Third Inter-American Accounting Conference . . . . .	São Paulo . . . . .	Nov. 14–
Inter-American Commission of Women: 10th General Assembly . . . . .	Port-au-Prince . . . . .	Nov. 14–
Customs Cooperation Council . . . . .	Brussels . . . . .	Nov. 15–
ICAO Special European-Mediterranean Communications Meeting . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	Nov. 16–
Meeting of Ministers of Finance or Economy (4th Extraordinary Meeting of Inter-American Economic and Social Council). . . . .	Rio de Janeiro . . . . .	Nov. 22–
ICEM <i>Ad Hoc</i> Subcommittee on Draft Rules and Regulations . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 22–
International Sugar Council: Statistical Committee . . . . .	London . . . . .	Nov. 22–
International Sugar Council: Executive Committee . . . . .	London . . . . .	Nov. 23–
ILO 8th International Conference of Labor Statisticians . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 23–
International Sugar Council: Second Session . . . . .	London . . . . .	Nov. 24–
ICEM Subcommittee on Finance: 6th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 25–
Caribbean Commission: 19th Meeting . . . . .	Cayenne (French Guiana) . . . . .	Nov. 29–
Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration: 8th Session . . . . .	Geneva . . . . .	Nov. 30–
NATO Ministerial Meeting of the Council . . . . .	Paris . . . . .	November*
FAO Fourth World Forestry Congress . . . . .	Dehra Dun (India) . . . . .	Dec. 11–
Inter-American Seminar on Secondary Education . . . . .	Santiago . . . . .	Dec. 29–

## Chinese Communist Attacks on Free World Shipping

Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.  
U.S. Representative to the United Nations<sup>1</sup>

I am making public today for the first time an official list, recently completed, which shows that the shooting down of an unarmed British airliner off Hainan Island last July 22<sup>2</sup> was but the latest of at least 39 warlike acts by the Chinese Communists against the ships and aircraft of free nations in the last 4 years. This is issued for the information of the public. It speaks for itself.

When the attack off Hainan took place, not only the United States and Britain, whose citizens lost their lives, but people all over the world were alarmed at this action against humanity and international law. My purpose in making public this list of 38 additional attacks is to show that the Hainan shooting was no isolated incident but part of a pattern of constant aggressive pressure against the free world.

<sup>1</sup> Issued by the U. S. Mission to the United Nations on Sept. 19 (U.S./U.N. press release 1956 dated Sept. 17).

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Aug. 2, 1954, p. 165, and Aug. 9, 1954, p. 196.

This tabulation shows 26 incidents involving the British flag, 5 involving the United States, 2 involving Denmark, 2 involving Panama, and one each involving Norway, France, and Portugal.

In turn, this series of acts of piracy must be viewed as part of a still larger pattern. I refer to the Chinese Communist record in Korea; the campaigns of extermination against the Chinese people themselves, in which millions have lost their lives; the boast of the Chinese Communist leaders that they have the second largest army in the world—second only to the Soviet Union. Within this larger pattern, the many violent actions off the Chinese coast over the past 4 years seem to reveal the basic character of the Red Chinese regime—a regime committed to any means whatever, but especially to violence, in order to achieve its aims of conquest.

From July 1950 through June 1954 the Chinese Communists made 38 attacks on foreign ships and aircraft, as follows:

### 1950

July 20, 1950: British S.S. *Tak Shing* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries in the vicinity of Lafsami, the ship's location possibly within 2 miles of Lafsami.

July 24, 1950: The Panamanian ship S.S. *Flying Dragon* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries on Lafsami. The ship was hit.

**August 2, 1950:** An Air France plane was fired on by Chinese Communist A/A guns, Ladrone Island.

**August 3, 1950:** The 300-ton British freighter *Nambee* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries on the Nam Shan Islands. There were no hits and no casualties.

**August 6, 1950:** The American ship S.S. *Steel Rover* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries in the Lama Island group; the ship was just entering Hong Kong.

**August 7, 1950:** The British ship S.S. *Hand Sang* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries in the Lama Islands; the ship was just outside Hong Kong waters; two British officers were slightly wounded.

**August 8, 1950:** The Norwegian ship S.S. *Pleasantville* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries in the Lama Islands. The ship was just outside Hong Kong.

**August 13, 1950:** A Pacific Overseas Airways plane, under U.S. flag, was fired on by Chinese Communist machine guns from an island near Macao.

**August 17, 1950:** The British destroyer *Concord* was repeatedly shelled by Chinese Communist batteries on the Lama Islands, then by batteries on the Ling Ting Islands. One enlisted man was wounded.

**September 16, 1950:** The British ship S.S. *Sing Hing* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries from the Lama Island group.

**September 17, 1950:** The British ship S.S. *Mahadevi* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries in the Lama Island group.

**October 7, 1950:** The Danish S.S. *Emilie Maersk* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries on the Lama Island group.

**November 7, 1950:** Portuguese sloop *Goncalo Velho* was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries on the Lafsami Islands. The ship was just outside Hong Kong waters on the regular Hong Kong-Macao route.

**December 8, 1950:** A Panamanian flagship was shelled by Chinese Communist shore batteries off Wu Yu Island, near Amoy. No damage, no casualties.

**December 9, 1950:** The British tug *Allegiance* was fired on by shore batteries at Putao (Pak Leak) Island, in the Wan Shan Island group. The tug was returning from the rescue of the Philippine S.S. *Joseph S.* The master and two crew members were slightly injured.

#### 1951

**February 13, 1951:** The British-registered *Caltex II*, a motor vessel, was shelled by Chinese Communist shore batteries on Ling Ting Island. The ship was outside Hong Kong waters. The British master and British chief officer were injured.

**April 10, 1951:** The British ship *Jade Leaf* on its way from Hong Kong to Chuen Chow was forced by weather conditions to anchor near Namao Island, off Swatow. The master did not know that the area was prohibited. The ship was fired on by Chinese Communist shore-battery machineguns. The ship was hit once and there were no

casualties. Later, while entering Swatow, the ship was buzzed by unidentified planes.

**April 16, 1951:** Chinese Communist shore batteries on outer Ling Ting Islands fired on the British S.S. *Victoria Peak* causing some of the cargo to ignite.

**May 3, 1951:** The British tug, *Caroline Moller*, while towing barge, was fired on by Chinese Communist shore batteries on the Ling Ting Islands.

**June 8, 1951:** The British S.S. *Edith Moller* was shelled by Chinese Communist armed junk and shore batteries near Hong Kong.

**June 8, 1951:** The Danish ship *Marieskou*, while going up the Pearl River estuary, was shelled by Chinese Communist island batteries.

**August 12, 1951:** Enroute Hong Kong to Chuanchow, the British S.S. *Jade Leaf* took shelter in Tang Sang harbor. The ship, being mistaken for Nationalist, was attacked by the Chinese Communists. The attack resulted in the killing of the boatswain.

**September 2, 1951:** Between Hong Kong and Macao, the British flag *Yu Men*, on the regular Hong Kong-Macao run, was fired on by a Chinese small craft.

**November 26, 1951:** A vessel off Swatow fired on a U.S. Navy plane.

#### 1952

**January 1952:** The Asiatic Petroleum Company's oil lighter *BPM 88*, sailing under British flag, was intercepted and detained by the Chinese Communists, on the fringe of Hong Kong territorial waters.

**September 25, 1952:** On the regular Hong Kong-Macao route the British flag S.S. *Tak Shing* was fired on and detained by an armed Chinese Communist naval vessel. The *Tak Shing* was taken to Lafsami Island where two passengers were removed.

**September 25, 1952:** In answer to the distress call, the H.M.S. *Mounts Bay* and consort arrived to give escort to the *Tak Shing* to Hong Kong. While still in British territorial water, 4 miles from Lafsami, Chinese Communist shore batteries fired on the *Mounts Bay*. The *Mounts Bay* returned fire and silenced the batteries.

**October 13, 1952:** While pursuing a suspected smuggling junk, a Hong Kong revenue launch in the vicinity of Ling Ting Island was fired on by a Chinese Communist shore battery.

**November 2, 1952:** A Chinese Communist armed junk took into custody two British seamen in a whale boat sailing around Hong Kong Island—about half way between Lama Island and the Ling Ting Islands. The men were taken to Canton, questioned intensively, and were returned to Hong Kong on March 19, 1953, having been detained for more than 4 months.

#### 1953

**January 18, 1953:** Chinese Communist A/A fire off Swatow shot down U.S.N. *Neptune* plane. U.S.C.G. *Mariner* crashed taking off after rescue. U.S. destroyer fired on by



shore batteries, later chased by hostile craft. Total casualties were eleven missing.

**March 21, 1953:** Chinese Communist gunboat seized U.S. yacht *Kert* about 5 miles west of Lantau Island, 6-7 miles north of Lufshaml. The following Americans were taken into custody and not released until September 1954: Richard Applegate, Benjamin Krasner, and Donald Dixon. Three Chinese, who were with the Americans, have not been released.

**April 30, 1953:** A Chinese Communist gunboat attacked a British-registered motor junk in international waters near Soko Island and Sang Lau Point off the southwest tip of Lantau Island. After taking refuge in British waters, a Chinese Communist gunboat and four Communists in naval uniform pursued the junk and after some shooting took it. The Hong Kong Marine Department later rescued the crew.

**May 25, 1953:** As it was leaving Amoy, the British S.S. *Nigelock* received small arms fire from Communist-held Hu Hsu Island.

**June 30, 1953:** At Scrag Point Chinese Communist shore batteries fired on the S.S. *Hydralock* of British registry.

**September 9, 1953:** A Chinese Communist gunboat fired on Hong Kong *ML 1323* in disputed waters in the Pearl River estuary. Resulting casualties: 6 British navy crew members and one captain of the Royal Hong Kong defense force killed.

**November 11, 1953:** Chinese Communist shore batteries fired on S.S. *Inchulva*, under British flag, while entering Wenchow.

**November 12, 1953:** The S.S. *Inchulva* again attempted to enter Wenchow. It was again shelled with no damage.

1954

**June 4, 1954:** Chinese Communists took British forces yacht *Elinor* which, while on a pleasure cruise, entered Chinese Communist waters through navigational error. 2 officers and 7 men aboard were detained till July 10.

## Chinese Representation in the United Nations

*Statement by Ambassador Lodge  
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*<sup>1</sup>

Madam President, let me first of all express on behalf of the United States appreciation for the statesmanlike address with which you have just favored us, and let me say too that we take great satisfaction in the way in which you have con-

<sup>1</sup> Made at the opening session of the Ninth General Assembly on Sept. 21 (U.S./U.N. press release 1958).

ducted yourself as president of this General Assembly during the year just ending.

Let me also, as representing the host country, extend a cordial welcome to the delegates and the alternates, expressing the hope that your stay here will be fruitful and enjoyable.

Now, Madam President, for reasons which are well known, the United States will not engage in a discussion of the substance of this question that has been raised by the representative of the Soviet Union. Indeed, we will make a motion as follows: I move that the Assembly decide not to consider at its Ninth Session during the current year any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

Logically, this motion takes precedence over the Soviet proposal,<sup>2</sup> and therefore I ask that rule 93 of the Rules of Procedure be invoked. This rule reads as follows: "If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted. The General Assembly may after each vote on a proposal decide whether to vote on the next proposal." That is the end of rule 93.

That rule, you will observe, gives the Assembly the power to decide questions of precedence, and I accordingly ask the Assembly to decide to vote first on my motion. Put that first, and then I will ask to vote on the motion itself.

I therefore ask the chair to put the following proposal to the Assembly, that the Assembly decides to consider first the motion just offered by the representative of the United States. Then after that motion has been voted on, it would then be in order to vote on the substantial proposal which I have made.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The Soviet draft resolution (U.N. doc. A/L. 176) proposed that representatives of the People's Republic of China take the seat of China in the General Assembly and in other organs of the United Nations.

<sup>3</sup> The Assembly decided to consider the U.S. motion first, by a vote of 45-7 (Burma, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.), with 5 abstentions. The U.S. draft resolution (U.N. doc. A/L. 177) was then approved by a vote of 43-11 (Burma, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, India, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia), with 6 abstentions.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Status of Tariff Concessions Under GATT

Press release 517 dated September 20

#### DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Public views were requested on September 21 regarding the status of tariff concessions granted in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in view of the possibility of modification of article XXVIII of the agreement.

Article XXVIII, as it stands at present, provides that on or after July 1, 1955, any country may withdraw tariff commitments with regard to any particular product. However, a country wishing to withdraw a concession first must try to reach some basis of agreement with other interested contracting parties concerning such withdrawal. A possible basis for agreement would be the granting of new concessions as compensation for the withdrawn concession. If such efforts to arrive at agreement fail, the country can nevertheless proceed with its intended action and the other interested country then becomes free to withdraw equivalent concessions in order to restore balance in the agreement.

Because of concern that extensive use of the unilateral procedure might lead to a rather rapid increase in world tariffs, the date at which this procedure might become available, which originally was January 1, 1951, has twice been postponed. Proposals to modify the application of article XXVIII are expected to be made at the coming Ninth Session of the General Agreement which opens on October 28.

Interested persons may express views with regard to any aspect of this matter, including the general question of modification of the article, as well as possible changes in individual concessions which the United States has received or granted. Such views will be carefully considered before a final decision is reached as to the U.S. position. Certain views on this subject were presented at the hearings on the GATT review of September 13 through September 17, held by the U.S. delega-

tion to the review session.<sup>1</sup> These views will be made available to the trade-agreements organization for consideration along with information and views presented at the coming hearings.

Written views should be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information, the interdepartmental organization which receives views with regard to trade agreement matters, by October 18. Public hearings will also be held by the committee, opening on October 18 in the auditorium of the National Archives Building, Eighth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. Applications for appearances before the committee should be made by October 6 and should be accompanied by a written brief or by a preliminary outline indicating as specifically as possible the subject on which the individual wishes to be heard. A written brief must in all cases be submitted before the individual makes his appearance. Applications to be heard should be made to the Chairman, Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C.

Article XXVIII now provides, in effect:

1. On or after July 1, 1955,<sup>2</sup> any contracting party may, by negotiation and agreement with any other contracting party with which such treatment was initially negotiated, and subject to consultation with such other contracting parties as the contracting parties determine to have a substantial interest in such treatment, modify, or cease to apply, the treatment which it has agreed to accord under article II to any product described in the appropriate schedule annexed to the General Agreement. In such negotiations and agreement, which may include provision for compensatory adjustment with respect to other products, the contracting parties concerned shall endeavor to maintain a general level of reciprocal and mutually advantageous concessions not less favorable to trade than that provided for in the agreement.

2. (a) If agreement between the contracting parties primarily concerned cannot be reached, the contracting party which proposes to modify or cease to apply such treatment shall, nevertheless, be free to do so, and if such action is taken the con-

<sup>1</sup> For Assistant Secretary Waugh's statement at the opening of the review session, see BULLETIN of Sept. 27, 1954, p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> The applicable date in the case of Brazil is Jan. 1, 1954.

tracting party with which such treatment was initially negotiated, and the other contracting parties determined under paragraph 1 of this article to have a substantial interest, shall then be free, not later than 6 months after such action is taken, to withdraw, upon the expiration of 30 days from the day on which written notice of such withdrawal is received by the contracting parties, substantially equivalent concessions initially negotiated with the contracting party taking such action.

(b) If agreement between the contracting parties primarily concerned is reached but any other contracting party determined under paragraph 1 of this article to have a substantial interest is not satisfied, such other contracting party shall be free, not later than 6 months after action under such agreement is taken, to withdraw, upon the expiration of 30 days from the day on which written notice of such withdrawal is received by the contracting parties, substantially equivalent concessions initially negotiated with a contracting party taking action under such agreement.

#### **NOTICE ISSUED BY INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE**

Pursuant to section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act approved June 12, 1934, as amended (48 Stat. (pt. 1) 945, ch. 474; 65 Stat. 73, ch. 141), and pursuant to paragraph 4 of Executive Order 10082 of October 5, 1949 (3 CFR, 1949 SUPP.; p. 126), notice is hereby given by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements that, in connection with the forthcoming review and renegotiation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with a view to strengthening that agreement, it is intended that consideration will be given to enhancing the firmness of the tariff concessions. In particular, consideration would be given the modification of the application of the provisions of article XXVIII of the General Agreement by extension of the date after which such provisions may be invoked, or otherwise.

Article XXVIII, which is one of the most important provisions of the General Agreement in relation to the firmness of the concessions on individual products, provides that these concessions, originally negotiated in the case of the United States at Geneva in 1947, at Annecy in 1949, or at Torquay in 1950 to 1951, may be modified or withdrawn on or after a specified date, following consultation and negotiation with other contracting parties, without the necessity of terminating the entire agreement. The article envisages that the balance between the concessions granted by the various contracting parties shall be maintained, preferably through the negotiation of new concessions in compensation for any modifications or withdrawals made, but through retaliatory modifications by other parties if agreement cannot be reached on new concessions. The date on and after which the pro-

visions of article XXVIII may now be invoked is July 1, 1955, except for concessions in Schedule III (Brazil) and concessions initially negotiated by other contracting parties with Brazil as to which such provisions may now be invoked. No modification of article XXVIII would affect the right of any contracting party to withdraw or modify individual concessions pursuant to article XIX (commonly called "the escape clause") of the General Agreement.

Pursuant to section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act, as amended, and paragraph 5 of Executive Order 10082, information and views as to any aspect of the proposals announced in this notice may be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information in accordance with the announcement of this date issued by that committee. Information and views submitted, orally or in writing, to the chairman of the United States delegation for the review and renegotiation of the General Agreement, in connection with the hearings held under his direction from September 13 through September 17, 1954, will be made available to the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

By direction of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements this 21st day of September, 1954.

CARL D. CORSE  
*Chairman, Interdepartmental  
Committee on Trade Agreements*

#### **NOTICE ISSUED BY COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION**

The Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements has issued on this day a notice of intention to consider possible modification of the firmness of the tariff concessions in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The Committee for Reciprocity Information hereby gives notice that all applications for oral presentation of views in regard to the foregoing proposals shall be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information not later than 12:00 noon October 6, 1954, accompanied by a written brief or by a preliminary outline indicating the subject as specifically as possible on which the individual wishes to be heard. A written brief must, in all cases, be submitted before the individual makes his oral appearance. Communications shall be addressed to "The Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C." Fifteen copies of written statements, either typed, printed, or duplicated shall be submitted, of which one copy shall be sworn to.

Written statements submitted to the Committee, except information and business data proffered in confidence, shall be open to inspection by interested persons. Information and business data proffered in confidence shall be submitted in separate pages clearly marked "For official use only of Committee for Reciprocity Information."

Public hearings will be held before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, at which oral statements will be heard. The first hearing will be at 10:00 a. m. on



October 18, 1954 in the auditorium of the National Archives Building, 8th and Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C. Witnesses who make application to be heard will be advised regarding the time of their individual appearances. Appearances at hearings before the Committee may be made only by or on behalf of those persons who have, prior to that appearance, filed written briefs and who have within the time prescribed made written application for oral presentation of views. Statements made at the public hearings shall be under oath.

Copies of the notice issued today by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements may be obtained from the Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D. C. and may be inspected in the Field Offices of the Department of Commerce.

By direction of the Committee for Reciprocity Information this 21st day of September 1954.

EDWARD YARDLEY  
Secretary, Committee for  
Reciprocity Information

## Current Actions

### MULTILATERAL

#### Germany

Agreement on German external debts. Signed at London February 27, 1953. Entered into force September 16, 1953. TIAS 2792.

*Ratification deposited:* Spain, August 25, 1954.

#### Narcotics

Protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium. Dated at New York June 23, 1953.<sup>1</sup>

*Accession deposited:* Cuba, September 8, 1954.

### BILATERAL

#### Australia

Agreement amending article 5 of the agreement of November 26, 1949 (TIAS 1904) for the use of funds made available in accordance with the agreement on settlement for lend-lease, reciprocal aid, surplus war property and claims of June 7, 1946 (TIAS 1528). Effected by

<sup>1</sup> Not in force.

exchange of notes at Canberra September 3, 1954. Entered into force September 3, 1954.

#### El Salvador

Cooperative program agreement for agricultural development, pursuant to the general agreement for technical cooperation of April 4, 1952 (TIAS 2527). Signed at San Salvador July 16, 1954.

*Entered into force:* August 10, 1954 (the date notification of ratification was given the United States by El Salvador).

Agreement for a cooperative program of productivity, pursuant to the general agreement for technical cooperation of April 4, 1952 (TIAS 2527). Signed at San Salvador August 31, 1954. Enters into force on date that notification is given the United States of publication of the agreement in the *Diario Oficial* of El Salvador.

#### Greece

Agreement to correct certain errors in the English text of the convention of February 20, 1950 (TIAS 2901) for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on the estates of deceased persons. Effected by exchange of notes at Athens August 3 and 19, 1954. Entered into force August 19, 1954.

#### Mexico

Agreement for a cooperative project with Escuela Superior de Agricultura "Antonio Narro," pursuant to the general agreement of June 27, 1951 (TIAS 2273), as amended. Effected by exchange of notes at Mexico June 17, 1954. Entered into force June 17, 1954.

#### Panama

Agreement extending the *modus vivendi* signed September 14, 1950 (TIAS 2481), providing for maintenance of the Boyd-Roosevelt Highway pending entry into force of the highway convention, also signed September 14, 1950. Effected by an exchange of notes at Panamá August 12, 26, and 30, 1954. Entered into force August 30, 1954.

#### Viet-Nam

Agreement relating to duty-free entry and defrayment of inland transportation charges on relief supplies and packages for Viet-Nam. Effected by exchange of notes at Saigon August 20 and 26, 1954. Entered into force August 26, 1954.

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Statement  
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China  
Chinese C  
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Shipments  
Economic  
Administra  
Act of  
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Shipments  
Status of  
Sweden R  
Europe  
Nine-Pow  
U. S. Pro  
1944-1  
France  
Germany  
Indochina  
Internat  
Calendar  
Nine-Pow  
Iran. Ira  
(texts  
Japan. I  
Liberia  
Military  
ping  
Mutual S  
Pakistan  
Presiden  
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Iranian  
Publicat  
State, D  
Sweden  
Item  
Treaty  
Current  
Status o  
U. S. S.  
Proj  
United  
Chinese  
Chinese

<b>Agriculture.</b> Administration of Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 . . . . .	498
<b>American Principles</b>	
Partnership for Peace (Dulles) . . . . .	471
U. S. Program for Return of Historic Objects to Countries of Origin, 1944-1954 (Hall) . . . . .	493
<b>Atomic Energy</b>	
Correspondence With Soviet Union on Atomic Pool Proposal (texts of correspondence) . . . . .	478
Partnership for Peace (Dulles) . . . . .	471
Statement by Ambassador Lodge on Atomic Pool Proposal . . . . .	475
U. S. Request to Secretary-General for Agenda Item on Atomic Energy (Lodge) . . . . .	474
<b>Austria.</b> First U. S. Flood Relief Cargo Leaves for Austria . . . . .	490
<b>Bulgaria.</b> Anniversary of Death of Bulgarian Patriot (Smith) . . . . .	490
<b>China</b>	
Chinese Communist Attacks on Free World Shipping (Lodge) . . . . .	505
Chinese Representation in the United Nations (Lodge) . . . . .	507
Shipments to Hong Kong . . . . .	492
<b>Economic Affairs</b>	
Administration of Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 . . . . .	498
Chinese Communist Attacks on Free World Shipping (Lodge) . . . . .	505
Shipments to Hong Kong . . . . .	492
Status of Tariff Concessions Under GATT . . . . .	508
Sweden Removes Import License Requirements on Some Items . . . . .	502
<b>Europe</b>	
Nine-Power Conference on European Security (Dulles) . . . . .	489
U. S. Program for Return of Historic Objects to Countries of Origin, 1944-1954 (Hall) . . . . .	491
<b>France.</b> U. S.-French Talks on Indochina . . . . .	491
<b>Germany.</b> Nine-Power Conference on European Security (Dulles) . . . . .	489
<b>Indochina.</b> U. S.-French Talks on Indochina . . . . .	491
<b>International Organizations and Meetings</b>	
Calendar of Meetings . . . . .	503
Nine-Power Conference on European Security (Dulles) . . . . .	489
<b>Iran.</b> Iranian Message of Sympathy Concerning Hurricane Damage (texts of letters) . . . . .	491
<b>Japan.</b> Death of Japanese Fisherman (Allison) . . . . .	492
<b>Liberia.</b> Visit of President Tubman . . . . .	491
<b>Military Affairs.</b> Chinese Communist Attacks on Free World Shipping (Lodge) . . . . .	505
<b>Mutual Security.</b> First U. S. Flood Relief Cargo Leaves for Austria . . . . .	490
<b>Pakistan.</b> U. S.-Pakistan Friendship (Hildreth) . . . . .	492
<b>Presidential Documents</b>	
Administration of Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 . . . . .	498
Iranian Message of Sympathy Concerning Hurricane Damage . . . . .	491
<b>Publications.</b> BULLETIN Marks Twenty-fifth Anniversary . . . . .	477
<b>State, Department of.</b> BULLETIN Marks Twenty-fifth Anniversary . . . . .	477
<b>Sweden.</b> Sweden Removes Import License Requirements on Some Items . . . . .	502
<b>Treaty Information</b>	
Current Treaty Actions . . . . .	510
Status of Tariff Concessions Under GATT . . . . .	508
<b>U. S. S. R.</b> Correspondence With Soviet Union on Atomic Pool Proposal (texts of correspondence) . . . . .	478
<b>United Nations</b>	
Chinese Communist Attacks on Free World Shipping (Lodge) . . . . .	505
Chinese Representation in the United Nations (Lodge) . . . . .	507

Partnership for Peace (Dulles) . . . . .	471
Statement by Ambassador Lodge on Atomic Pool Proposal . . . . .	475
U. S. Request to Secretary-General for Agenda Item on Atomic Energy (Lodge) . . . . .	474

## Name Index

Allison, John M. . . . .	492
Bohlen, Charles E. . . . .	489
Corse, Carl D. . . . .	509
Dulles, Secretary . . . . .	471, 478, 479, 480, 484, 489
Eisenhower, President . . . . .	491, 498, 500
Gromyko, Andrei . . . . .	486
Hall, Ardelta R. . . . .	493
Hildreth, Horace A. . . . .	492
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr. . . . .	474, 475, 505, 507
Merchant, Livingston T. . . . .	485
Molotov, V. M. . . . .	479, 480, 482
Pahlavi, Reza Shah . . . . .	491
Smith, Walter Bedell . . . . .	490
Tubman, William V. S. . . . .	491
Yardley, Edward . . . . .	509
Zaroubin, Georgi. . . . .	478, 480

### Check List of Department of State Press Releases: September 20-26

Releases may be obtained from the News Division,  
Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

No.	Date	Subject
†516	9/20	Robertson and Laurel: Philippine trade.
517	9/20	Request for views on GATT.
†518	9/21	Bohan: Economic relations with Latin America.
519	9/21	President Tubman's visit.
*520	9/21	Educational exchange.
*521	9/21	Educational exchange.
522	9/22	Smith: Anniversary of Petkov's death.
523	9/22	Hildreth: U.S.-Pakistan.
524	9/23	Allison: Death of Japanese fisherman.
525	9/23	Dulles: Partnership for peace.
*526	9/24	Visit of Mayor of Paris.
†527	9/25	Claim against U.S.S.R. for B-29.
528	9/24	Delegation to 9-power talks in London.
529	9/25	U.S.-French talks on Indochina.
530	9/25	Dulles: Departure for London.
531	9/25	Correspondence with U.S.S.R. on atomic pool.
†532	9/25	Legation in Libya made Embassy.
533	9/25	Liberalization of Sweden's dollar trade.

\*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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*Foreign Relations of the United States . . .*  
the basic source of information on U.S. diplomatic history

**1937, Volume IV, The Far East**

Documents published in this volume deal chiefly with problems arising from the outbreak of undeclared war between China and Japan in July 1937, especially with efforts by the United States and other powers to restore peace. This is the second of two volumes dealing with the Far East crisis in 1937, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, Volume III, The Far East*, having been released in June.

In 1937 China faced Japan, with the Soviet Union watching from the sidelines and discussing developments with other powers. Nine hundred pages of contemporary papers deal with not only efforts to end the undeclared war but also other phases of the war itself and repercussions affecting the United States.

The principal chapter of this volume relates to a conference called at Brussels under the terms of the Nine Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, regarding China to explore the possibility of peaceful solution of the conflict between Japan and China. Chapters are also included on American relations with China, Japan, and Siam (Thailand).

Copies of this volume may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$4 each.

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